



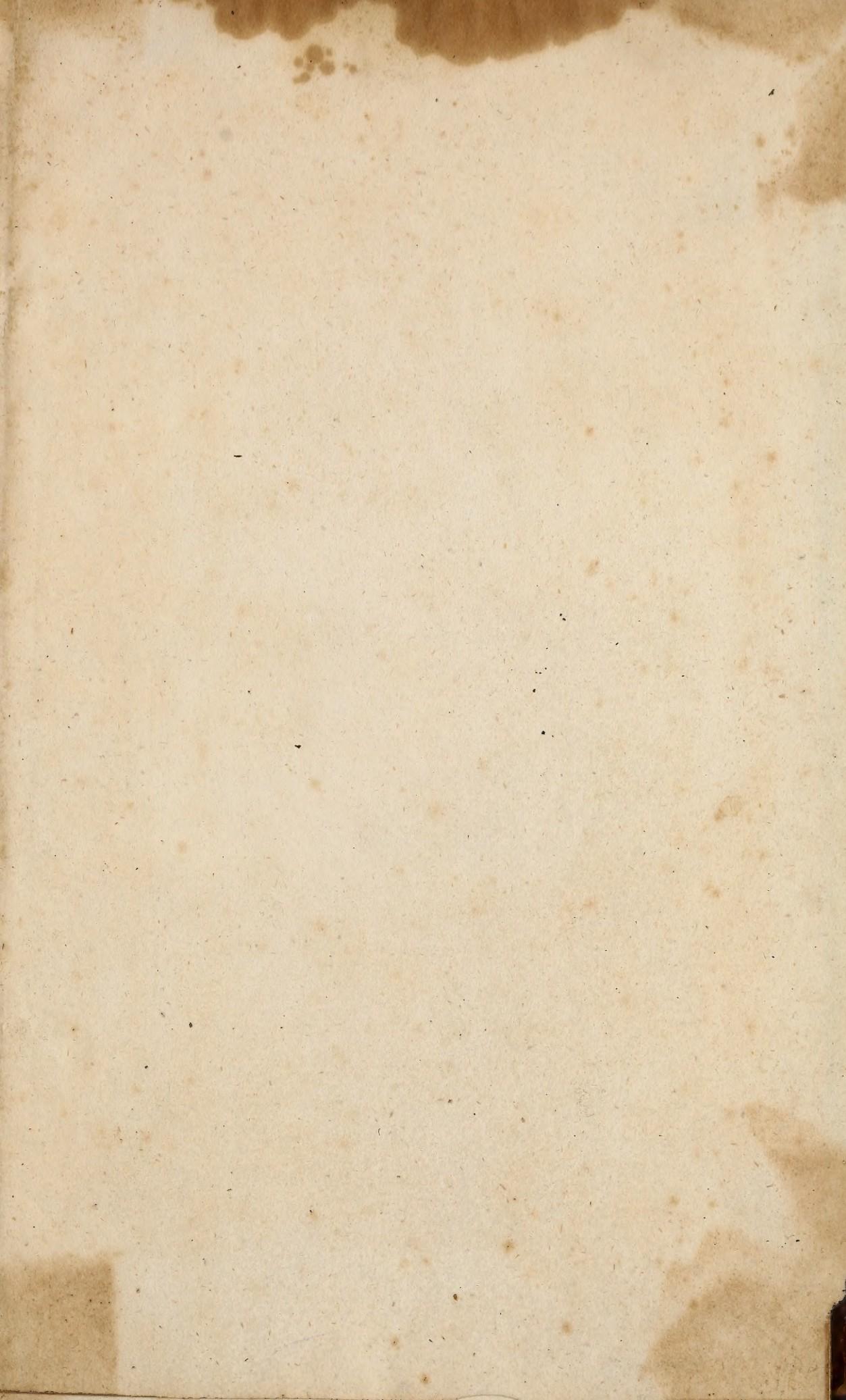
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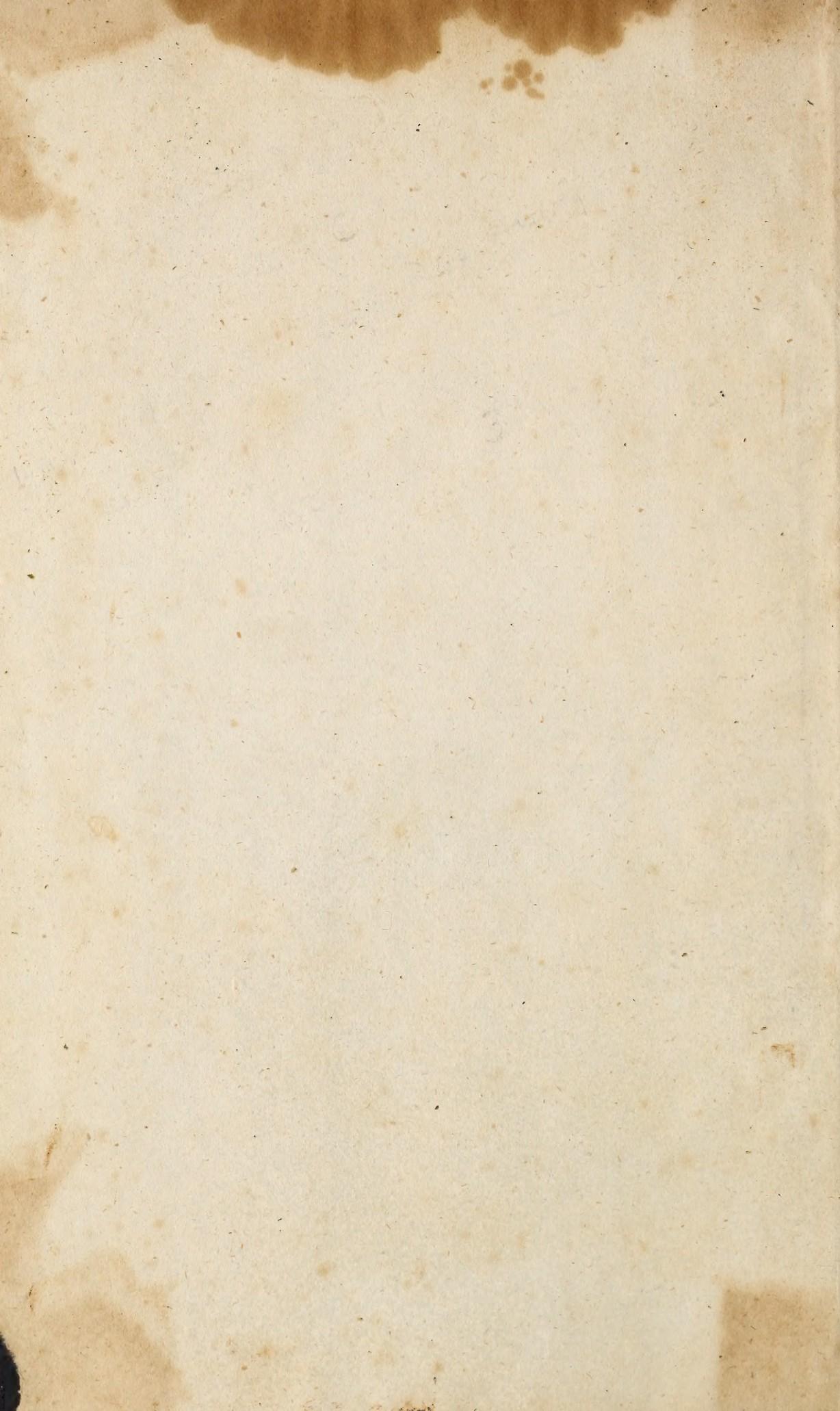
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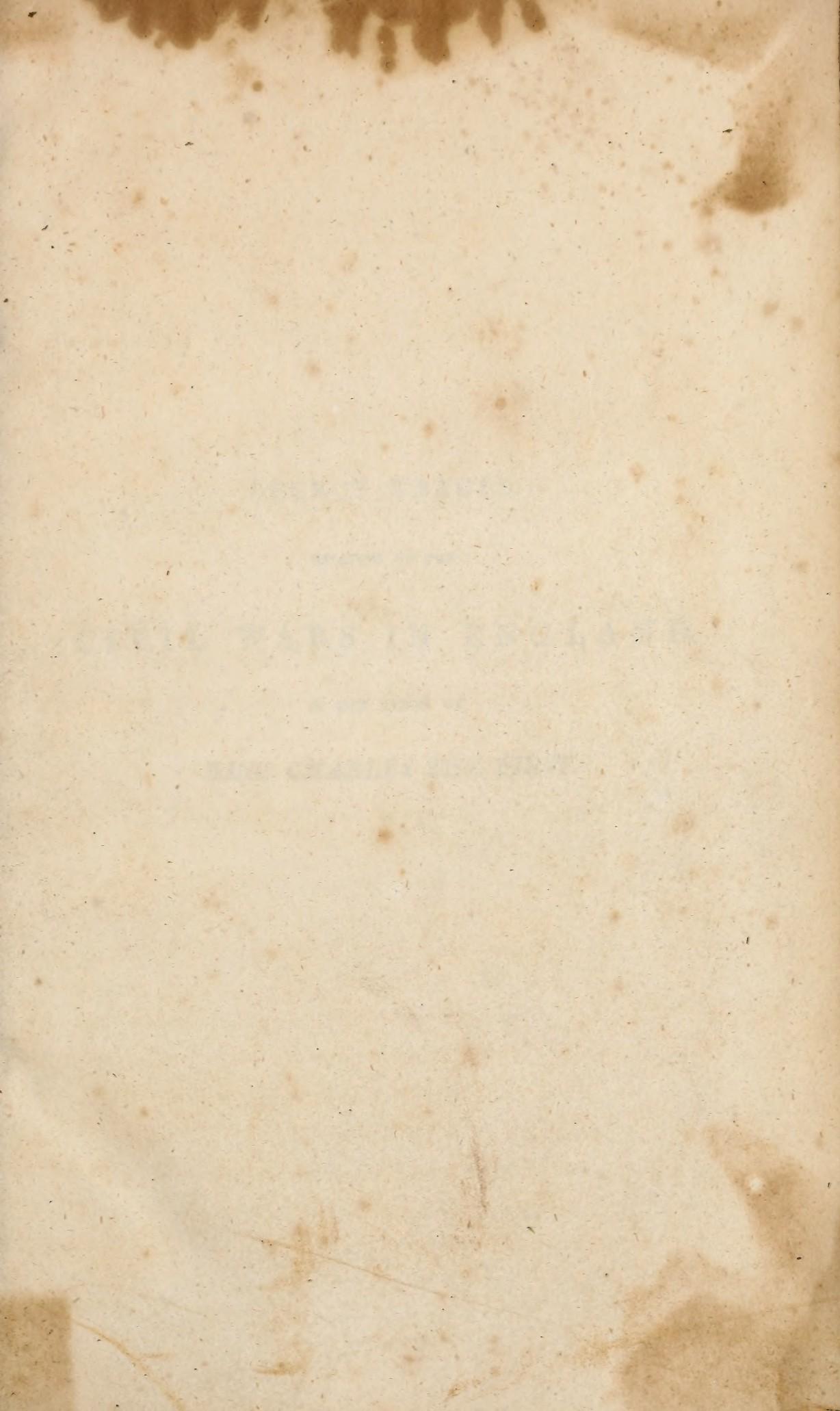
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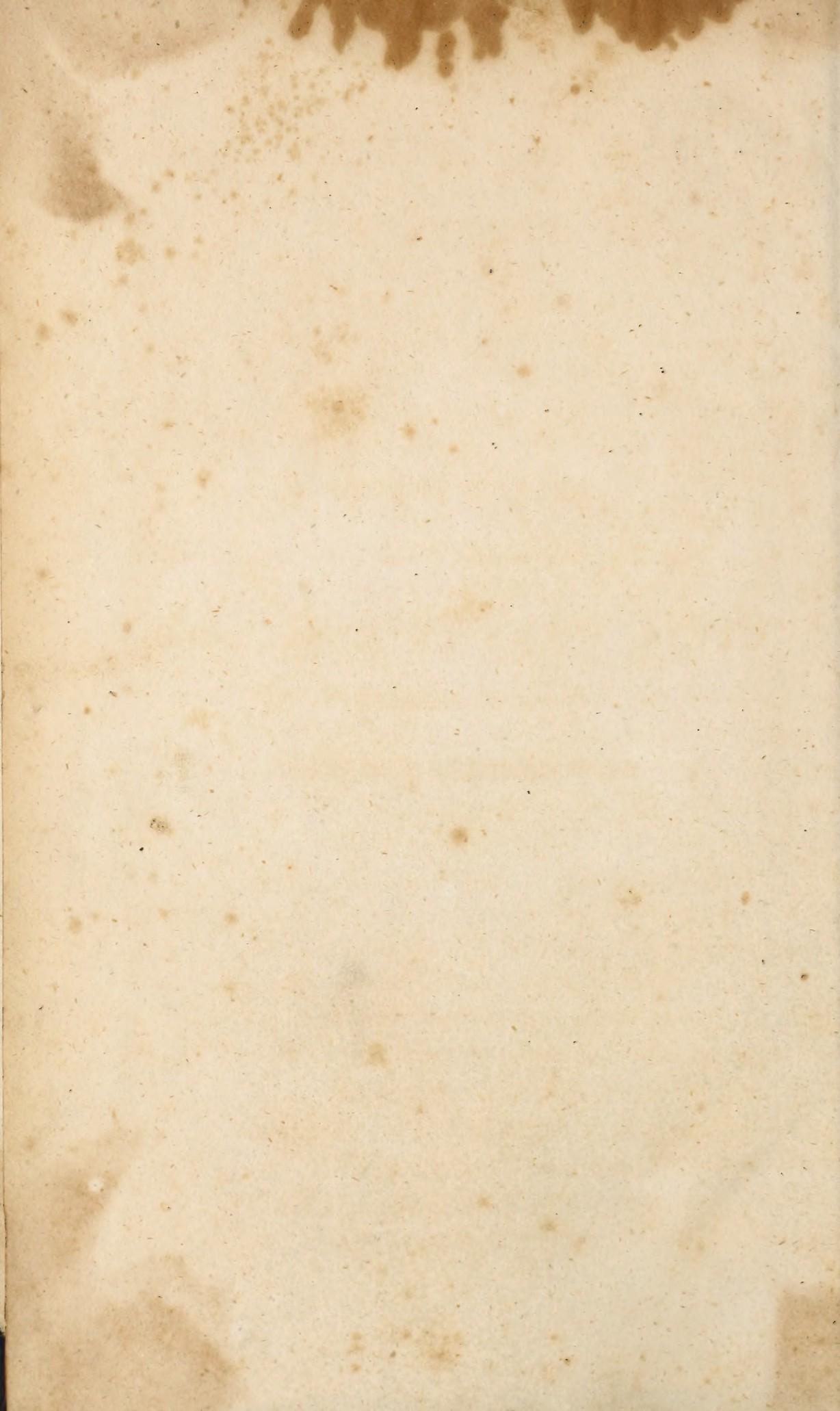
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SELECT TRACTS
RELATING TO THE
CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,
IN THE REIGN OF
KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

СТОЯТ ТОСКА

НЕР ОТ БУДАВЕК

CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND

TO WHICH IS ADDED

TWO EPISTLES OF KING CHARLES.

BY MELVILLE, WHO DREW THE CHARTS
FOR THE CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND,
WHICH ARE USED AS A GUIDE TO
THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR.

СТОЯТ ТОСКА

НЕР

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND

BY MELVILLE, WHO DREW THE CHARTS FOR THE CIVIL WAR

SELECT TRACTS
RELATING TO THE
CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

KING CHARLES THE FIRST;

BY WRITERS WHO LIVED IN THE TIME OF THOSE
WARS, AND WERE WITNESSES OF THE
EVENTS WHICH THEY DESCRIBE.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

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THE PREFACE.

THIS part of the History of England is generally considered as more interesting than that of any preceding period of it, because it contains an account of the grand struggle between King Charles the First and the people of England, (acting under the direction of the famous *Long Parliament* that met on the 3d of November, 1640,) to determine, “Whether he should be permitted to govern them by his sole will and pleasure, as an *Absolute Monarch*, and without the assistance of a Parliament, (as he had done very lately for ten years together, before the Civil War began;) or whether he should be compelled to consent to admit the two Houses of Parliament to a participation of the *Legislative* authority with him, so that no new Law could be made, nor any old one be repealed or altered; nor any new Tax be imposed upon the People; without their joint consent: to which participation of the *Legislative Power* with the two Houses of Parliament, all the kings of England, his predecessors, ever since the creation of the House of Commons by King Edward the First, in the 23d year of his reign, A.D. 1295, had uniformly consented, as to a known and established maxim of Government.”

This was the real subject of the dispute between King Charles and his Parliament: for, as to the *Ex-*

ecutive Power of the State; or the right of causing Justice to be administered to his people, according to known Laws already duly established, and of appointing proper Judges for that purpose;—and the right of making War and Peace with foreign nations, and of levying soldiers, by free contracts with them, to serve him out of the dominions of the Crown of England against such foreign enemies, and of appointing the Commanders and other Officers of the soldiers so levied for foreign service;—and the right of levying the Militia of England to suppress a rebellion, or to resist an invasion of England by a foreign enemy, but without going out of the Dominions of the Crown ;—all these powers, great as they are, and dangerous to publick Liberty as they would be if they were abused, yet were allowed to belong to the King ; and no intention to change the English Monarchy into a popular Government, or Commonwealth, was then entertained by any considerable number of the Members of that Parliament, or of the People of England, by whom they had been elected.

The real question, therefore, which gave rise to that famous Civil War, was, “ Whether the English Nation should, thenceforward, be governed by the King alone, or by the King and Parliament conjointly ;” or, in other words of the same import, “ whether they should be governed as slaves to the will of an absolute Monarch possessing the power of an Emperor of Morocco, or as a free people, who, in times of peace and domestick tranquillity, had a considerable share in making and amending the laws by which they were

to

PREFACE.

to be governed." And therefore it is most happy for the English Nation, that the Parliament was successful in this contest. For it is to this success, together with the subsequent glorious Revolution in the year 1688, under the great King William, that we owe the degree of Civil Liberty, security of person and property, and other advantages of a wise and equitable Government, which we now enjoy, and have enjoyed ever since that great event, and, more especially, since the succession of the Princes of the House of Hanover to the throne of these kingdoms, upon the death of Queen Anne, in the year 1714, in consequence of the wise and noble *Act of Parliament*, generally known by the name of the *Act of Settlement*, which was passed in the latter part of King William's reign, for excluding all the Popish branches of the Royal Family, and likewise all such members of it as shall hereafter embrace that hostile and intolerant Religion, from their right of succeeding to the Crown: and neither of these two great events, the Revolution in 1688, and the succession of the Hanover Family to the crown in 1714, would, probably, have taken place, if King Charles had been successful in that contest with his Parliament.

The great importance of this contest between King Charles and his Parliament in the year 1642, and the happy consequences to this nation that have resulted from the Parliament's success in it, have naturally excited amongst us a strong desire of knowing how it was conducted, and who were the principal actors in it, and what were their motives of action, and their ultimate views and aims, as well as the degrees of courage and

of military skill exerted in it in the field of battle, and of address and ability in the management of treaties of peace, and in suggesting and directing the resolutions taken by the Parliament. All these things are very reasonable objects of an Englishman's curiosity. But to gratify such a curiosity to its full extent would require a great deal of leisure and industry, which very few people, even though fond of reading and possessed of a great deal of leisure, would chuse to bestow upon it ; for it would be necessary, in such a pursuit, to read over with great care and attention the following books ; to wit—

- 1st, Lord Clarendon's very long History of the Civil War, or (as he calls it) the Grand Rebellion, in three volumes, *folio* ;
- 2dly, Whitlock's Memorials, in one volume, *folio* ;
- 3dly, Sprigg's History of Lord Fairfax's Campaigns, in a small volume, *folio* ;
- 4thly, Clement Walker's *History of Independency* ; in one volume, *quarto* ;
- 5thly, Ludlow's Memoirs, in three volumes, *duodecimo* ;
- 6thly, Rushworth's *Collections*, in six volumes, *folio* ;
- 7thly, Lord Strafford's Trial, in one volume, thin *folio* ;
- 8thly, The Trial of Arch-bishop Laud, and many other State Trials ;
- 9thly, John Lilburn's *Putney Projects*, and many other tracts of his, written in the course of the Civil Wars ;
- 10thly, The Tract, intitled 'Εικων Βασιλίκη, which was

was said to be written by King Charles the Ist, during his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight ; but was afterwards clearly discovered to have been written by *Dr. Gauden*, a clergyman of the Church of England, who was, after the restoration of King Charles the Second, made Bishop of Exeter ;

11thly, Milton's admirable Tract in answer to it, called *Iconoclastes* ;

12thly, The Latin Tract of *Salmasius*, or Monsieur *Saumaise*, written against the proceedings of the Parliament's Army, in putting King Charles the First to death, in opposition to the declared will of the House of Lords, and of a great majority of the House of Commons, intitled *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum, adversus Parricidas Anglos* ; and Milton's answer to it, written also in Latin, and intitled *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* ;

13thly, Mr. Harris's very copious and exact Accounts of the Lives of King Charles the Ist, and of Oliver Cromwell, in two volumes octavo ;

And, 14thly, all the volumes of the Parliamentary History of England, (which are 15,) that relate to the reign of King Charles the Ist, and to the subsequent changes of Government until the restoration of the Monarchy under King Charles the Second.

And, besides all the books already mentioned, it would be necessary for him to peruse many other me-

moirs and tracts of various kinds, published on both sides, in the course of that long interval of time between the beginning of the reign of King Charles the 1st, in the year 1625, and the restoration of King Charles the 2d, in the year 1660, and written by persons well acquainted with the publick transactions of the times, and sometimes by persons who had themselves been agents in them.

But such a copious and laborious course of Inquiry as this would be, into this part of our History, is not likely (notwithstanding the interesting nature of the subject) to be entered upon by many persons, even amongst men of literary inclinations and a good deal of leisure, unless they have entertained some design of composing a more exact and impartial history of this important contest than has yet been published, with its rise, progress, and consequences, from the year 1625, when King Charles the First began his reign, to the year 1660, when King Charles the Second was restored to the Government of the Nation.

Such a history, if well written, and well supported by the testimony of original witnesses of the facts contained in it, would undoubtedly be a most valuable present to the Publick. But, in the mean time, most persons in the kingdom, even though they should be fond of reading, and enjoy a good deal of leisure, will content themselves with reading the history of these important transactions in some few of the many books above alluded to, which they shall conceive to be most likely to give them true information.

Now

Now it is for the accommodation of this last set of readers, who are desirous of knowing the history of this important contest between King Charles the First and his Parliament, “concerning the just limits of the royal authority in the English Government,” from the testimony of contemporary writers of eminence, who saw the actions which they relate, and sometimes were themselves concerned in performing them, that I have caused the following set of Tracts of only a moderate length, which are now grown very scarce, to be here reprinted.

The first of these Tracts was written by Mr. Thomas May, the celebrated translator of Lucan's fine Poem, intitled *Pharsalia*, into English verse, and who was likewise the author of an excellent History of the famous Long Parliament of England, (that began in November 1640,) during the first three years of it, to the month of September 1643, which I caused to be re-printed about three years ago. The present Tract was published for the first time in the year 1650, about a year after the death of King Charles the First, and a very little time before the death of the author Mr. Thomas May himself. And a second Edition of it was published in the year 1655, about five years after the former edition, and after the author's death, under this title : *A Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England, Expressed in three parts : 1st, The Causes and Beginnings of the Civil War in England ; 2dly, A short mention of the Progress of that Civil War ; 3dly, A compendious Relation of the Original and Progress*

Of the first Tract
here re-printed.

Progress of the second Civil War. First written in Latine, and after done into English.

By THOMAS MAY, Esq.

The Second Edition.

London; Printed by JOHN COTTRAL, for THOMAS BREWSTER, at the Three Bibles, near the West-end of Paul's, 1655.

And it is from this second Edition that it is here re-printed.

It is a short, but very clear, narrative of the principal events of the two contests of the King ; first, with his Scottish subjects, from the year 1637 to the year 1640 ; and afterwards with his English Subjects, to the end of the year 1648, and to the King's trial and execution in the month of January in the year 1648-49, by the violence of the Army, and in opposition to the resolutions of the whole House of Lords, and to those of a great majority of the House of Commons ; but without giving an account of those proceedings against the King, after the Army had taken him by force out of the custody of the Parliament in the Isle of Wight. This Breviary therefore contains a short, but very clear, and, as I conceive, judicious and impartial account of the contests between King Charles and his Scottish and English Subjects, from the year 1637 to the breaking off the treaty of Peace carried on between the King and the Parliament, in the Isle of Wight, in November 1648. It takes up only 216 pages in a small volume *in duodecimo*, and 128 pages of the present volume *in octavo*.

Of the second Tract. The second Tract in the present volume is intitled—
Several Observations on the Life and Death of Charles,
late

late King of England. By William Lilly, Student of Astrology. Published for the first time in July, 1651. My observations on this Tract will be found in a short preface prefixed to it, in pages 131, 132—135. This Tract extends from page 137 to page 182.

The third Tract in this volume is intitled, *Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, Baron of Ifield in Sussex. From the year 1641 to the year 1648. First printed in the year 1699.*

These Memoirs relate to the first civil war between the king and the Parliament, which begun in the year 1642, and ended with the delivery of the king's person into the custody of the Parliament's commissioners in February 1646—47, and the return of the auxiliary army of Scots, that had contributed to the success of the Parliament's cause, into their own country; and to the violent civil dissensions between the two powerful parties of *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, which broke out immediately after in the Parliament itself, and prevented the nation from enjoying the expected fruits of their victories, by a return of peace and plenty. But they do not extend to the events of the second civil war, which begun in April 1648, and, by the great successes of Oliver Cromwell in Wales, Lancashire, and Scotland, and those of Lord Fairfax in Kent and Essex, was completely ended before the beginning of the following month of November. For the two latest publick proceedings that Lord Holles mentions in these Memoirs are, 1st, the Votes of both Houses of Parliament, "To make no more Addresses to the King," after he had refused to give his assent to four Bills, which

which they had considered as necessary preliminary articles to be consented to by him, before they could safely enter into a further treaty with him for his restoration to the exercise of the Royal Authority ; which vote was passed on the 15th of January, 1647—48 ; and, 2ndly, a Vote of the House of Commons for publishing a Declaration, containing an enumeration of all the publick crimes and offences against the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects, that the King had been guilty of from the very beginning of his reign ; which vote had passed on the 11th day of February, or about two months before the beginning of the second civil war.

Lord Holles, or rather Mr. Denzil Holles, (as he was called in the time of the Civil War,) was a very eminent Leader of the Presbyterian or Monarchical party in the House of Commons, and was one of the eleven distinguished members of that party who were impeached by the Army on the 24th of August, 1647, and compelled to abandon their seats there ; after which Mr. Holles and several others of them went over to France and other parts beyond sea ; and Mr. Holles went to *Saint Mere Eglise* in Normandy, where he resided several years, and wrote his Memoirs. See the Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XVI. p. 275.

As to the merits of these Memoirs, they are written with great perspicuity, and in a very vigorous and animated style, and exhibit just notions of English Liberty, and a zealous attachment to the principles of it, as it had existed in good reigns before his time, and has existed since the Revolution in the year 1688, under our Limited Monarchy, in which the two Houses of Parliament

ment are partakers with the Crown in the exercise of the Legislative Authority. For farther remarks on these Memoirs, or (as he himself intitles them in page 191,) this *Memorial*, of Denzil Lord Holles, I refer the reader to the Preface prefixed to it by the publisher of the first edition of it in the year 1699, which will here be found in pages 187 and 188.

And here I will venture to mention an observation that has occurred to me on reading Lord Holles's charge against Lieutenant-General Cromwell, that he had shewn a want of personal courage in the great battle of Marston Moor, in not leading on the body of horse of the Earl of Manchester's brigade to charge the enemy; which was afterwards done by Major-General Crawford, and contributed greatly to the victory there obtained. The story is told in page 199 of this edition of these Select Tracts. Now, supposing all the facts related in it to be true, is it not very possible that the wound, or burn, which Cromwell had received in his neck, by the accidental going off, behind him, of one of his soldiers pistols, might so stun him and make him dizzy and weak for a few minutes, perhaps five or six minutes, as to render him incapable of leading on a body of horse to an attack upon the horse of an enemy? This, I confess, appears to me not only possible, but very probable, and much more probable than that a man who had given so many proofs of great personal courage on other occasions, should shew a want of it in this. And, as to his following General Crawford's advice of retiring to his tent with a soldier, and permitting Crawford to take his place, and lead on the horse of that brigade

brigade to charge the enemy without delay, *that* conduct certainly was meritorious in him; because the opportunities of gaining advantages in battles are often momentary, and, if they are not seized at once when they occur, are lost for ever. And thus it seems reasonable to conclude, that Cromwell, on this occasion, by permitting Crawford to take his place without delay, and lead on the horse of that brigade to charge that of the enemy, contributed greatly to the gaining of that important victory.

Of the fourth Tract. The fourth Tract in this volume is intitled, *The Mystery of the two Juntoes, Presbyterian and Independant*; being the first book, or part, of a much larger work published in a quarto volume in the year 1648, about the month of December, and a little before the trial of King Charles the First, under the fictitious name of *Theodorus Verax*, and of which the second and much larger book, or part, is intitled, *The History of Independancy*. They were written by *Clement Walker*, Esquire, who was a member of the famous Long Parliament that began in November, 1640, and they were published a second time under the author's real name, soon after the restoration of King Charles the Second, in the year 1660.— The general title of the whole volume is as follows: “*Relations and Observations, Historical and Politick, upon the Parliament that began anno Domini 1640. Divided into two Books: first, The Mystery of the Juntoes, Presbyterian and Independant; secondly, The History of Independancy, &c. Together with an Appendix, touching the proceedings of the Independant Faction in Scotland.*

Scotland. By Clement Walker, Esquire;" as is set forth in page 331 of this volume.

The author of this work, Mr. Clement Walker, who was a member of this famous Long Parliament, was of the same party as Mr. Denzil Holles, which was called the *Presbyterian* party, but which might, with almost equal propriety, have been denominated the *Monarchical* party, because they were anxious to preserve the antient and well known form of Government, by a King and Two Houses of Parliament, (under which they and their ancestors had lived for some centuries past,) after they had freed it from the late corrupt and oppressive innovations that had been introduced into it by King Charles during the ten years in which he had presumed to govern without a Parliament; and they hoped that the great success which had lately attended their armies under the command of their brave and indefatigable General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, (by which all the King's armies had been conquered and disbanded, and the King himself was become their prisoner,) would produce such a treaty with the King, for restoring him to the exercise of his royal authority, as (by the just and reasonable restrictions and provisions that would be agreed to in it by the King) might remove all apprehension of his ever again attempting to renew his former endeavours to destroy the authority of his Parliament. For this was the view and design of this party, called the *Presbyterian*, in both Houses of Parliament, much more than to abolish the Episcopal form of Government of the Church of England, and introduce the Presbyterian mode of Church Government (by Synods and Assemblies of Presbyters,

Of the Presbyterian
Party in the House of
Commons.

or

or Ministers of the Gospel, all of equal rank, in the manner recommended by Calvin) in its stead ; though this also was thought by many of them to be a prudent and adviseable measure at that time, in order to produce an uniformity in the Governments of the two Churches of England and Scotland, in the latter of which kingdoms the king had lately, in the month of August, 1641, given his Assent to an Act of Parliament for establishing the Presbyterian form of Church Government. And they also thought that they were bound to adopt this measure by virtue of a certain clause in the Covenant which the Parliament of England had entered into with the Parliament of Scotland, in the year 1643, to induce them to send an army from Scotland to assist the English Parliament in their contest with the King ; which army was accordingly sent, and contributed greatly to the success of the Parliament's Army in the great battle of Marston-Moor, and did great service to their cause on various other occasions.

Such were the sentiments of the *Presbyterian*, or *Monarchical* party in the House of Commons, to which both Mr. Denzil Holles and Mr. Clement Walker belonged, and of which the former was a most distinguished Leader. And their opponents were the *Independants* ; who were so called from their holding an opinion concerning Church Government different both from that of the *Episcopalian*s, or *Church of England-men*, and from that of the Scotch *Presbyterians* ; which was, "that the several Congregations of Christians that meet together in a church, or meeting-house, to join in the worship of the Supreme Being, ought not to be governed either by any

Superior

Superior Clergymen, called *Bishops*, (as in the Church of England), or by any Synods, or Assemblies, of Presbyters, or Ministers of the Gospel, all equal in rank, (as in the Church of Scotland, by the Act of the Parliament of Scotland, passed by King Charles in the year 1641,) but by themselves alone, according to such rules and conditions as the members of every such Christian Society, and the Pastor, or Minister, whom they should employ to read their prayers aloud in their place of worship, and to preach to them, or otherwise officiate to them, should agree to establish. And from this opinion of the absolute *Independency* of every Christian Church, or Assembly, on every other such Assembly, the Christians of this way of thinking were called *Independents*. But the number of Members in the House of Commons who adopted this way of thinking, was but small; and, I conjecture, did not amount to more than 30, out of the whole number of Members who attended the House in the month of December, 1648, or a little before the trial of King Charles, which appears by the Parliamentary History of England, vol. xviii, page 447, to have been above 340.

But, though the number of these *Independents* in the House of Commons was but small, they were very numerous in the Parliament's Army; and many of them had also embraced an opinion concerning Civil Government, which was of a much more important and dangerous tendency to the Peace and quiet Settlement of the nation, than the former opinion concerning the Independency of every separate Society of Christians assembled together for the purposes of publick worship: namely,

“ that the Liberty of the People of England could never

b

be

Many of the Independents were also inclined to a republican form of Civil Government.

be established on a sure and permanent foundation, but by abolishing the office of King, and changing the form of the government into a *Commonwealth* or *Republick*, in which the people should be governed by Magistrates chosen by themselves from time to time, and thereby brought under a necessity of promoting the welfare and happiness of the people in order to be re-elected by them, at the appointed seasons, into the high stations they possessed.” This opinion prevailed very much among the officers, and even among the private soldiers, of the Parliament’s army, after they had entirely subdued the king’s armies, and made the king himself a prisoner, about the month of May, 1647. Of this opinion was Colonel Rainsborough, an officer of great influence in the Army ; and Colonel Overton ; and Colonel Okey, a very brave, upright, and conscientious man ; and Major-General Harrison ; and Colonel Edmund Ludlow, a very brave and upright man, and likewise a man of a large hereditary landed estate in Wiltshire, and one of the very few persons of that condition in life who embraced these republican principles. This opinion had also been adopted by some of the Members of the House of Commons : but their number was but small ; I should conjecture, not more than 40 members out of the 340 that attended the House at that time. But these, being supported by the great number of Officers of the army, (and even of the private soldiers of it who were of a bustling and ambitious disposition,) that had embraced this new opinion, were sufficient to spread an alarm amongst the *Presbyterian*, or *Monarchical*, Members of both Houses, that the antient and well-known form

form of Government under a Limited Monarchy, by a King and Parliament conjointly, (to which they were much attached,) might now be suddenly changed, by these new and armed Politicians, into a Commonwealth, or Republick, of some sort or other, which they did not understand, and which might lead them into fresh confusions.

Such was the state of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Parties, or of the *Monarchical* and *Republican* Parties, in England, about the month of April, 1647, when the Scottish army was returned to Scotland, and the King was a Prisoner at *Holdenby* Castle, under the care of Commissioners appointed by the Parliament.

And Oliver Cromwell was at this time a Lieutenant-General of the Army; in which he had a prodigious degree of Interest with the soldiery, both as a great and successful Commander, and as a familiar companion and friend to them, and especially to those who had a religious and enthusiastick turn of mind, amongst whom he used often to preach and pray, and inculcate the opinions of the Independent Party, of which he was considered as the Head. And he was also a very leading member of the House of Commons, where he was a powerful opposer of the Presbyterian Party of Mr. Denzil Holles, and Mr. Clement Walker, and their friends. He did not, however, at this time excite the Army to depose the King, or to put him to death, and change the Monarchy into a Commonwealth ; nor does it seem probable, that he wished them then to do so. But he encouraged a party of them to go by night and surround Holdenby Castle, (where the King then resided under the custody

Of the condition of
Oliver Cromwell
about April, A.D.
1647.

of the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament,) and take him by force out of that custody, and bring him to some place within the district then occupied as the quarters of the army.. And this was done accordingly, on the 4th of June, 1647, by Cornet Joyce, at the head of a body of horse of the Parliament's Army, without any written order of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General, or even of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, (the suggester of the measure,) or any officer whatsoever. As to Sir Thomas Fairfax, he was so far from having given orders for this violent measure, that he was extremely offended when he heard of it, and immediately gave orders to Colonel Whalley to go with two regiments of horse to meet the party of soldiers who were conducting the King from Holdenby, and to conduct him back thither, if he so desired, but not to use any force against him : and Colonel Whalley accordingly went, thus accompanied, to meet the King, and met him at only three or four miles distance from Holdenby. But the King, though he had quitted Holdenby castle against his will, yet now refused to go back to it, and chose rather to go-on to the district where the army was quartered ; having probably been seduced by Cornet Joyce and his companions with assurances that the army would restore him to the exercise of the Royal Authority upon easier terms than would be granted him by the Parliament. For at this time it seems to have been the object of Cromwell's ambition,—not to depose the King, or put him to death, and change the Government from a Monarchy into a Commonwealth,—but to be a principal agent, by his great interest with the army, in
restoring

restoring him to the exercise of his royal authority upon easier terms than the Parliament were willing to grant him, and particularly by not insisting upon the abolition of the Episcopal Government of the Church of England ; which was a condition to which the King was exceedingly unwilling to agree, though he had consented to the like condition with respect to Scotland in the year 1641. And he hoped, if he caused the King to be restored to the exercise of his authority upon these easier terms than the Parliament had hitherto proposed to him, to be amply rewarded by his Majesty for so signal a service. One of the reports that were spread-about in the Army at this time concerning the reward which Cromwell was supposed to expect for such a service, was, “ that the King would create him Earl of Essex (in lieu of the Earl of Essex who had been the first General of the Parliament’s army, and who was lately dead), and would also make him Captain of his Guard.” And very moderate proposals were accordingly drawn-up by Commissary-General Ireton, to be made to the King by the two Councils by which the army was then governed, namely, the Council of Officers and the Council of Agitators : and these proposals were laid before the said Councils, and approved-of by them, and were afterwards laid before the King by the principal Officers of the army, for his acceptance, on the 2nd of August, 1647. But, unhappily, they were then rejected by the King with great haughtiness and disdain.

This tract of Mr. Clement Walker, together with the second and much larger tract, called *the History of Independence*, were published by him a second time, under

his real name, very soon after the restoration of King Charles the II^d, in the year 1660.

Of the Memoirs of
Sir John Berkley.

The next, or fifth tract in this collection, is the Memoirs of Sir John Berkley, who had been an officer in the king's service in the late Civil War, and had been Governour of the city of Exeter for the king, but had been obliged to surrender it to the all-conquering General of the Parliament's Armies, Sir Thomas Fairfax, in April 1646. It is written in a very clear and easy style, and with a great appearance of truth and sincerity, and an earnest desire of contributing to the restoration of the blessings of peace to his country, by means of a treaty with the Army for that purpose, which was thought likely to be obtained by means of the recommendation of it by the Army to the Parliament; the leading officers of the Army, and more especially Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and his son-in-law, Commissary-General Ireton, having intimated to the king's friends that the Army would be glad to enter into a treaty of that kind with the king. The state of the Army at this time seems to have been as follows:—

Of the state of the
Army in April 1647.

Many of the officers of it, and even of the common Soldiers, had embraced the opinions of the *Independents* with respect to Church-Government, and thought that every separate Society of Christians, who met-together for publick worship, ought to be independent of every other such Society, and to be governed by their own rules and establishments alone, without any subjection either to priests of a higher order than the rest, called *Bishops*, as in the Church of England, or to *Synods* and *National Assemblies* of Priests, or *Presbyters*, or *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, that were all of equal rank; as in the

Church

Church of Scotland. And most of them, soon after their compleat success over the king's armies and garrisons in England, in the year 1646, and the return of the auxiliary Scots army into Scotland in February 1646-47, had also entertained a wish to abolish the monarchical Government of England, and convert it into a Commonwealth, or Republick ; to which they were probably much encouraged by the flourishing state to which they saw the Dutch nation, or the Seven United Provinces in the Netherlands, had been advanced by their noble resistance to the cruel and tyrannical government of their late Sovereign, Philip the II^d, King of Spain, from which they had emancipated themselves, and had been governed, for the last thirty or forty years, by magistrates of their own choice, under the form and name of a *Commonwealth* or *Republick*. However this inclination of the Soldiery and the inferiour Officers of the Army, (from whatsoever causes it may have arisen,) to abolish the old form of monarchical Government in England, by a king and two houses of Parliament, and to convert it into a Republick, was so contrary to the opinions of a very great majority of the House of Commons, and almost the whole House of Lords, as well as of the very numerous part of the people which had supported the king's cause in the late Civil War, that Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and, his able associate, Commissary-General Ireton, and a majority of the Council of war, or superiour Council of the army, (consisting of officers only, without any *Agitators*, or members chosen by the common Soldiers of the Army,) were inclined to give-up the design of abolishing the monarchical form of Government, and changing it into a *Commonwealth* or *Republick*, and, instead of that violent and difficult measure, to

make reasonable proposals to the king for his restoration to the exercise of the Royal authority, after he should have consented to such conditions as would put it out of his power to renew his former attempts against the rights and liberties of his subjects. And this superior Council of the Army, consisting of officers only, and who acted under the direction of Cromwell and Ireton, had at this time (July 1647) such influence over the inferior Council of the Army, consisting of the *Agitators*, as to persuade them to give-up their first design of establishing a Commonwealth, and to consent to this measure of proposing reasonable terms to the king for his being restored to the exercise of his royal authority. This measure of the Army was certainly an irregular and unjustifiable act, being an assumption of the power that belonged only to the Parliament itself, under whose authority, and by whose direction, they were bound to act. But this is the only objection to it; for the proposals themselves seem to have been very moderate and reasonable, and such as the king himself (if he had not been one of the most untractable and injudicious men that ever lived) must have cheerfully consented-to. They were drawn-up by Commissary-General Ireton, and were agreed-to by both the Councils of the Army, who were at that time eagerly desirous that they should be laid before the king, and agreed-to by him. And Sir John Berkley, in these Memoirs, mentions the principal articles of them, and his conversations with Ireton upon them, and Ireton's judicious remarks upon them, and Cromwell's eager desire to have them laid before the king and agreed-to by him. He tells us likewise that he did lay them before the king for his private perusal, about six or eight days before they were offered

to

to him in publick, that is, about the 25th of July, 1647; and that the king was much displeased with them, notwithstanding all the observations that Sir John Berkeley offered in defence of them. And afterwards, when the proposals were offered to him in publick by the chief officers of the Army, on the 2d of August, 1647, he rejected them with haughtiness and in terms of reproach, to the great surprize and vexation of Sir John Berkley, and to the amazement and disgust of the Army. This harsh refusal of the king caused many of the Agitators of the Army (who had been, some time before, inclined to change the monarchy into a commonwealth, and had thereby obtained the denomination of *Levellers*, and who had at first shewn an unwillingness to agree to the measure of offering these proposals of the Army to the king) to return to their republican sentiments, and to suspect that Cromwell and Ireton were seeking their own interests, by employing their great influence in the Army to restore the king to the exercise of his authority upon easier terms than those that the Parliament had thought proper to offer him, in the hope that the king, when so restored by their endeavours, would repay so eminent a service by advancing them to offices of great honour and emolument. And one of the reports of this kind (that was spread amongst them, some weeks after this harsh refusal,) concerning the reward expected by Cromwell for this service, was, that the king, when so restored to his throne by Cromwell's interest with the Army, should create him Earl of Essex, in lieu of the late Earl of Essex (who had been the General of the Parliament's army in the beginning of the

Civil War, and who had died in September 1646, without leaving an heir of his title), and should likewise make him Captain of his Guards. But these jealousies of Cromwell's ambitious views did not rise to any violent degree immediately after the king's harsh rejection of their proposals on the 2d of August, 1647; for Sir John Berkley tells us, that three days afterwards, namely, on the 5th of August, 1647 (which was the day before the Army marched triumphantly into London, and made themselves masters of the Tower and the whole City), Cromwell and Ireton, and the officers of the Army who acted under their direction, had sufficient influence in the two Councils by which the Army was governed, to prevail with them "to declare that they would still keep to their former engagements to his majesty, and once more to solemnly vote their late proposals." But I do not find that the proposals were ever again formally offered by the Army to the king for his acceptance, during the whole time of his residence at his palace at Hampton-court, which was from August 6, 1647, to November 11, 1647; or that the king had ever, during that time, signified to the Army an inclination to accept them. And in the course of that time,

In September and October, 1647, the republican party in the Army, grows jealous of Cromwell's designs in favour of the King.

the jealousy conceived by the Agitators and Levellers in the Army, of Cromwell's design of sacrificing the interests of the Army and the Nation to the views of his private ambition, increased every day to a very high degree from the two following causes; to wit, 1st, that when, on the 7th of September, the Parliament had made another offer to the king to restore him to the exercise of his royal authority, upon certain terms, which

were

were but little different from those which had been offered him before at Newcastle ; the king, on the 13th of the same month, refused his assent to those articles, and intimated, “that the proposals which the Army had made him afforded a better ground for a treaty of peace than the articles then tendered to him by the Parliament, though there were some things also in those proposals to which his majesty could not consent.” And thus the king, in the course of about six weeks, namely, from the beginning of August to the 13th of September, rejected the proposals both of the Army and the Parliament ; which increased the disgust of the republicans, or Levellers, of the Army, and made them despair of ever obtaining the king’s consent to their proposals, and therefore think themselves absolved from all obligation to adhere to them. The other cause of the increasing discontent of these Levellers was, the intimacy and familiarity that was observed to have taken place between Cromwell and Ireton and the king’s old courtiers and ministers (who then visited him at Hampton-court as freely as if he had been restored to the exercise of his royal authority), and particularly with Mr. John Ashburnham, a gentleman of large estate in Sussex, who was a great favourite of the king, and who expressed a slight and contempt for these Agitators and Levellers in the Army. From this familiar intercourse between Cromwell and these favourites of the king, the suspicions and jealousy of the Agitators and Levellers against him, that he was resolved to endeavour to restore the king to the exercise of his royal authority almost upon any terms, in order to advance his own fortune under

under him, grew to such a height that Cromwell thought his life in danger from them, in his own lodgings at Putney, where the head-quarters of the Army were at that time established. And it must have been about this time that the Letter of the king to his queen Henrietta Maria, (who was then in France,) in answer to a Letter from her to him, in which she had blamed him for making promises of great honours and advantages to Cromwell after he should be restored to the exercise of his royal authority, must have been intercepted by Cromwell, if that story about this intercepted Letter is true. I have reprinted this story concerning this intercepted Letter, with what Mr. Seward says of it in his *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, in a note to the present edition of Sir John Berkley's Memoirs, in pages 386 and 387. I own I have some doubts of the truth of this story about this intercepted Letter; but, if such a Letter was written and intercepted, it must have been written in some part of the month of October, 1647, when the animosity of the Levellers against Cromwell, on account of his supposed treachery to the Army and Nation, seems to have been at its highest pitch. One of the concessions made by the king to Cromwell, according to that Letter, was, that he should be made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for life, without account; and that the kingdom of Ireland should be in the hands of the Parliament-party, with an army kept there, which should know no head but the Lord Lieutenant; and another was, that he was to be made a Knight of the Garter.

But, whatever may be thought concerning the story
of

of this intercepted Letter of the king, it is certain that the jealousies of the Agitators and Levellers of the Army against Cromwell for his supposed treachery to them, and their return to their former inclination of changing the form of the government of England from a monarchy into a commonwealth or republick—after first putting the king to death, as the criminal author and causer of all the bloodshed and misery that had arisen from the late Civil War—were spread very widely among them ; so that Cromwell and Ireton, and the other superiour officers of the Army, resolved to endeavour to check its progress, by procuring a general rendezvous of the Army, in which the officers and soldiers should be required to renounce all such violent projects, and renew their declarations of adherence to the old form of monarchical government under the present king, upon such conditions as should be thought sufficient by the Parliament to protect the people from a return of the king's former tyrannical government. And Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General of the Army, (who always endeavoured to preserve good order and discipline in it, and to prevent all irregular attempts of the soldiers to intermeddle with state-affairs, which ought to be left to the sole determination of the Parliament,) readily consented to follow their advice, and did accordingly appoint such a rendezvous to be held at Ware, in Hertfordshire, on the 15th day of November, 1647.

The General's order for assembling this rendezvous of the army alarmed the Agitators and Levellers with the apprehension, that the General, together with Cromwell and Ireton and the other superiour officers, might succeed

General Fairfax orders a Rendezvous of the Army to be held at Ware in Hertfordshire, on the 15th of November, 1647.

succeed in their design of reducing the Army to its ancient state of obedience and discipline, and thereby prevent the execution of their present design of putting the king to death, and afterwards converting the monarchical government of England into a commonwealth or republick ; and therefore they resolved to send a strong party of soldiers, who had adopted their republican

The Agitators resolve to seize the King's person at Hampton-court, before the day of the Rendezvous.

principles and designs, to Hampton-court, to take the king out of the custody of Colonel Whalley, who had been appointed by the influence of Cromwell to have the care of him ; and probably to put him speedily to death, in order to make way for their present favourite design of changing the government into a commonwealth. All this is distinctly related by Sir John Berkley, in page 373 of this volume. But Cromwell got intelligence of this design, and communicated it to Colonel Whalley, with his advice to the king to make his escape from Hampton-court as soon as possible ; which the king accordingly did, in the company of Sir John Berkley and Mr. John Ashburnham, about nine o'clock in the evening of the 11th of November, which was four days before the day appointed for the rendezvous, which was the 15th of November. And besides the intelligence of the design of the Agitators to seize the king's person, conveyed by Cromwell in his letter to Colonel Whalley, there was a letter addressed to the king himself, dated on the 9th of November, 1647, or two days before he made his escape, and signed only by the two capital letters E and R, which appears to have been written by a most loyal and affectionate subject of his Majesty, and expressed great anxiety for his preservation

The King escapes from Hampton-court on the 11th of November, 1647.

ation and future prosperity : it also gives such a lively picture of the fierce and violent designs that were then entertained by the Agitators and Levellers, in order to effect the change of the government from a monarchy into a commonwealth, that I think my readers will be glad to peruse it, and I therefore shall here reprint it, from the Parliamentary History of England, vol. xvi. p. 328.

“ London, Nov. 9, 1647.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ In discharge of my duty I can’t omit to acquaint you, that my brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine of the Agitators, who, in debate of the obstacles which did most hinder the speedy effecting of their designs, did conclude it was your Majesty, and so long as your Majesty doth live, you would be so ; and therefore resolved, for the good of the kingdom, to take your life away ; and that to that action they were well assured that Mr. Dell and Mr. Peters, two of their preachers, would willingly bear them company; for they had often said to these Agitators, your Majesty is but as a dead dog. My prayers are for your Majesty’s safety; but do too much fear, it can’t be whilst you are in those hands. I wish with all my soul that your Majesty were at my house in Broad-street, where I am confident I could keep you private till this storm was over; but beg your Majesty’s pardon, and shall not presume to offer it as advice ; ‘tis only my constant zeal to your service, who am your Majesty’s dutiful subject,

An anonymous
Letter received at
Hampton-court by
the King, informing
him of the dangerous
designs of the Agita-
tors against his life.
November 9th, 1647.

“ E. R.”

Wehn

When the king had escaped from Hampton-court, on the 11th of November, 1647, accompanied by Sir John Berkley and Mr. John Ashburnham, they arrived on the next day at Southampton ; and the king might then, if he had so pleased, have easily found a vessel to carry him to France ; and Sir John Berkley advised him to do so ; but Mr. Ashburnham advised him to postpone his departure from England for a few days, till he could hear the result of the intended rendezvous of the Army at Ware, on the 15th of November, when they hoped that the General Sir Thomas Fairfax, with Cromwell and Ireton and the other superiour officers of the Army, would be able to suppress the seditious and mutinous spirit of the Agitators and Levellers, and restore the Army to its former state of obedience and discipline. And this advice of Mr. Ashburnham the king thought fit to follow ; and, that he might be in a place of safety for those few days before the result of the rendezvous

The King surrenders
himself to Colonel
Hammond, Gover-
nour of the Isle of
Wight. November
13th 1647.

could be known, he surrendered himself to the custody of Colonel Robert Hammond, who was Governour of the Isle of Wight, and was a nephew of the learned and pious Dr. Hammond, who was one of his Majesty's chaplains, and was highly respected by him. All the

particulars of this escape of the king from Hampton-court to Carisbrook-castle in the Isle of Wight, are clearly and agreeably related in the Memoirs of Sir John Berkley. But of the rendezvous at Ware on the 15th of November, 1647, and of the tumultuous state of the Army for the three or four weeks preceeding it, he speaks only in general terms ; and therefore, to supply that deficiency in the best manner I can, I will here in-

sert,

sert from the *Parliamentary History of England*, Vol. xvi, two publick Papers of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General of the Army, laid before the Parliament, relating to them, the first of which is dated November 14, 1647, and the second is dated November 15, 1647.

The first of these papers occurs in page 340 of that Volume, and is as follows, to wit,

A REMONSTRANCE from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax and his Council of War, concerning the late Discontent and Distraction in the Army; with his Excellency's Declaration of himself, and expectation from the Army, thereupon, for the future uniting of the Army.

A Remonstrance of
General Fairfax and
his Council of War
to the Parliament,
November 14, 1647:
which was delivered
to the House of
Lords.

Hertford, Nov. 14, 1647.

' That ever since the Engagement of the Army at Newmarket-Heath, his Excellency, with the General Officers and General Council of the Army, (to which that Engagement refers) have been doing their Duty and best Endeavour for the Good of the Army and Kingdom, according to the Ends of that Engagement, and the Declarations and other Papers that have since passed from the Army.

' And in this, according to their Consciences and the best of their Understandings, they have done the utmost they could, without present Destruction to the Parliament; which, in their Opinions, would inevitably have put the Kingdom into Blood and Confusion, and so both the Army and Kingdom into an Incapacity, or past all rational Hopes, of obtaining or enjoying that satisfaction, or Security, for which the Engagement was

‘ entered-into ; and, if they have neglected any Thing
 ‘ wherein they might have done better, they have been
 ‘ ready, as still they are, to be convinced thereof, and
 ‘ to amend the Default, and to hearken to what any
 ‘ Man would soberly offer for that Purpose, or to lead
 ‘ them to any Thing better.

‘ That, while they have been thus doing their Duty,
 ‘ (besides many other Interruptions or Diversions by the
 ‘ Designs and Workings of Enemies) they have of late
 ‘ found the greatest Interruption to their Proceedings
 ‘ by a few Men, Members of the Army ; who, without

Of the mischievous practices of certain men, called Agents for several Regiments.

‘ any Authority, or just Call thereunto, that we know of,
 ‘ assuming the Name of *Agents for several Regiments*,
 ‘ have, for what Ends we know not, taken upon them
 ‘ to act as a divided Party from the said Council and
 ‘ Army ; and associating themselves with, or rather (as
 ‘ we have just Cause to believe) having given themselves
 ‘ up to be acted on, or guided, by divers private Persons
 ‘ that are not of the Army, have endeavoured, by various
 ‘ Falshoods and Scandals, raised and divulged in Print
 ‘ and otherwise, against the General, the General Of-
 ‘ ficers, and Council of the Army, to possess the Army
 ‘ and Kingdom with Jealousies of them, and Prejudices
 ‘ against them ; as if they had fallen from their Princi-
 ‘ ples, and had broke all their Engagements and Decla-
 ‘ rations, and thereby forfeited their Trust, and were in
 ‘ their whole Proceedings false and treacherous, both to
 ‘ the Army and Kingdoms : And, by these and other
 ‘ Practices, the said Agents and their Associates have la-
 ‘ boured to make Parties and Factions in the Army, to
 ‘ raise Discontents, Mutinies, and Disorders therein, to
 ‘ divide

divide the Soldiers from the Officers, and both Officers and Soldiers among themselves, and to withdraw several Parts of the Army from their Duty and Obedience to the General's Orders, and that in Things most necessary for the safety of the Army and Kingdom.

And thus, while they causelessly cry-out against the Breach of Engagements, and dividing the Army, they themselves have made, or endeavoured to make, the greatest Breaches of their Engagements, and greatest Dividing of the Army that can be; a Dividing most truly contrary to the Engagement; a Dividing which is as bad and destructive as Disbanding; even the Dissolution of all that Order, Combination, and Government, which is the Essence of an Army; and, under false and delusive Pretences that the Engagements have been broken, they have endeavoured really to loosen and draw the Army off from its former Engagements, and to draw it into new Engagements, different from, and, in some Things destructive to, the former; and have thus endangered the greatest Forfeiture of the Faith and Honour of the Army that ever it incurred.

And, whilst they cry-out "that there is nothing done," they themselves have made the greatest Obstructions to the doing of any Good to the Army or Kingdom, both in the Hindrance and Delays to our Proceedings, and the Expence of Time which their Workings have occasioned, either to have satisfied them if it had been possible, or else to salve and quiet these Discontents and Distractions which they have raised in the Army; and also by the Occasions which the Parliament and Kingdom, yea even our best Friends in both, have

‘ thus received, to discourage them from Compliance
‘ with, or Confidence in, an Army so uncertain, so un-
‘ settled, so divided.

‘ For these Causes the General hath thought fit to
‘ rendezvous the Army, or such Parts of it as are not
‘ fixed upon necessary Duty elsewhere ; and (having,
‘ with the Advice of his general Council, sent to the
‘ Parliament more importunately than before, for speedy
‘ satisfaction to the Army in their just Desires, especially
‘ in Points of Provision for constant Pay to avoid free
‘ Quarters, and of Security for Arrears,) thought it best,
‘ with the same Advice, to dismiss most of the Officers
‘ and Agitators from the Head-Quarters for a Fortnight
‘ unto their respective Regiments, to satisfy and com-
‘ pose those Discontents and Divisions which have been
‘ thus raised in them ; and, for Ease to the Country and
‘ Accommodation to the Soldiery, with respect to the
‘ Season of the Year, have thought fit to contract the
‘ Quarters of the Army in three Brigades, and to draw
‘ them to three several Rendezvouses, not far from each
‘ other, and this in order to one general Rendezvous, if
‘ there should be any Occasion ; and in this the several
‘ Regiments of Horse and Foot have been appointed to
‘ constant Quarters in order to those several Rendez-
‘ vouses, taking them directly in order as their several
‘ Quarters lay before, without any other Respect or
‘ Consideration. But even these Things the pretended
‘ Agents and their Associates have laboured to pervert,
‘ and make Advantage-of to the aforesaid Ends of Dis-
‘ content and Distraction, and to represent the same to
‘ he seveal Regiment, as done in Pursuance of the
‘ same

same treacherous Councils and Designs which they had before suggested ; and what Good they could not deny to be in the Things, they assume to themselves as having been gained by their Procurement ; and so greedily catch at the sole Credit of it, as if the General and his Council (but for them) would not have it. And, by Letters or Messages contradicting the General's Orders, they have, under such scandalous Pretences, laboured to draw divers Regiments from the Quarters and rendezvous to which they were ordered, unto the first Rendezvous near *Ware*, in a disorderly and confused Manner, to the Oppression of the Country and Dis-accommodation (if not Quarrelling and Distraction of the Soldiery) in quartering.

That, without Redress of these Abuses and Disorders, his Excellency cannot, nor will, any longer undergo or undertake further to discharge his present Trust to the Parliament, the Army and Kingdom : And, tho' he is far above any such low Thought as to court, or woo, the Army to continue him their General ; yet, to discharge himself to the utmost, and to bring the Business to a certain and clear issue, his Excellency doth now declare, That he is yet willing to adhere to, and to conduct, and live and die with, the Army, in the lawful Prosecution of these Things following :

First for the Soldiery : 1. ' To obtain present Provision for constant Pay, while continued, to enable them to discharge Quarters.

Reasonable requests
of General Fairfax
to the Parliament on
behalf of the Army.

2. ' The present stating of Accounts, and Security for Arrears ; with an effectual and speedy Course to raise Monies thereupon.

3. ‘ Sufficient Indemnity ; and Commissioners in every County for that Purpose.

4. ‘ Provision for maimed Soldiers, and the Widows and Orphans of Men slain in the Service ; and that in a certain and more honourable Way ; with Commissioners in every County for that Purpose.

5. ‘ Provision for Freedom from pressing, according to the first Petition of the Army.

6. ‘ Provision for Freedom of Apprentices that have served in this War, with the Penalty upon Masters refusing to give it.

And for the settlement of the kingdom.

‘ Secondly, For the Kingdom : A Period to be set for this present Parliament, to end so soon as may be with Safety ; and Provision thereunto to be made for future Parliaments, for the Certainty of their Meeting, Sitting, and Ending, and for the Freedom and Equality of Elections thereto ; to render the House of Commons, as near as may be, an equal Representative of the People that are to elect them.

‘ And, according to the Representation of the Army of June 14th, to leave other Things to, and acquiesce in the Determinations of, the Parliament ; but to remind the Parliament of, and mediate with them for, Redress of the common Grievances of the People, and all other Things that the Army have declared their Desires for.

‘ That, upon his Excellency’s continued Conjunction in these Things, he expects that, for the particular Circumstances of them, the Army shall, according to their aforesaid first Engagement, acquiesce in what shall be agreed unto by the General Council of the Army

' to which that Engagement refers; and for the Matter
 ' of Ordering, Conducting, and Government of the
 ' Army, that every Member of it shall be observant of,
 ' and subject to, his Excellency, his Council of War, and
 ' every one to his superior Officers, according to the
 ' Discipline of War; for assurance whereof he expects
 ' that as many as are satisfied herewith, and agree here-
 ' unto, do severally subscribe to what is here under-
 ' written for that Purpose.

And that the Army
 shall be obedient to
 the General and his
 Council of War, and
 every one to his su-
 perior Officers, ac-
 cording to the Disci-
 pline of War.

We the Officers and Soldiers of Regiment
 of A written Decla-
 , whose names are hereunto subscribed, ration to that pur-
 do hereby declare that we are satisfied in his Excellency pose, to be signed by
 the General's continued Conjunction with the Army, in the officers and sol-
 the lawful Prosecution of the Things heretofore declared diers.
 to be prosecuted for the Soldiery and Kingdom respect-
 ively; and, for the particular Circumstances of them,
 we shall, according to the general Engagement of the
 Army above-mentioned, acquiesce in what shall be
 agreed-upon by the General Council of the Army, to
 which that Engagement refers; and for the Matter of
 Ordering, Conduct, and Government of the Army, we
 shall be observant of, and subject to, his Excellency and
 his Council of War, and every one of us to our superior
 Officers in this Regiment and the Army, according to
 the Discipline of War.

Signed by the Appointment of his Excellency,
 Sir Thomas Fairfax and his Council of War,
 JO. RUSHWORTH, Secretary.

This Remonstrance was ordered to be sent-down to
 the Commons.

The second of these papers begins in page 333, of the same volume, and is expressed in these words.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers *pro Tempore.*

My Lord,

Hertford, Nov. 15, 1647.

General Fairfax's
Account of the Ren-
dezvous of a part of
the Army near Ware,
on the 15th day of
November, 1647.

' I Rendezvoused this day three regiments of foot and four of Horse, viz. of Horse, my own Regiments, Col. Rich's, Col. Fleetwood's, and Col. Twissleton's; and of Foot, my own Regiment, Col. Pride's, and Col. Ham-
' mond's. When they appeared all at the Place of
' Rendezvous, I tendered to them, and caused to be
' read at the Head of every Regiment, this inclosed
' Paper; which was very acceptable to them, and
' to which they have given very full and ready Con-
' currence, professing Readiness to serve you and the
' Kingdom; which, I hope, will be constantly and ho-
' nestly by them performed. And I can't but attribute
' great Acknowledgements to Almighty God, in making
' these poor Men so unanimous, in such Things as, I
' think, do, and will, conduce to an happy Settlement
' of this poor Kingdom.

' They profess likewise an absolute Submission and
' Conformity to the antient Discipline of the Army, by
' which I hope to order it to your Satisfaction. There

Of Colonel Harri-
son's Regiment of
Horse, and Colonel
Lilburne's Regiment
of Foot.

' came thither also two Regiments without Orders, viz.
' Col. Harrison's, of Horse, and Col. Lilburne's, of Foot.
' These two had been very much abused and deluded by
' the Agents who had their Intercourses with them at
' London, and were so far prevailed withal, that, when
they

they came into the Field, they brought with them, in their Hats, a Paper, commonly called, *The Agreement of the People*, being very much inflamed towards Mutiny and Disobedience. But truly I perceived the Men were merely cozened and abused with fair Pre-tences of those Men which acted in the *London Councils*; for Col. *Harrison's* Regiment was no sooner informed of their error, but, with a great deal of Readiness and Clearfulness, they submitted to me, expressing the same Affection and Resolution of Obedience with other Regiments; and I believe you will have a very good Account of them for Time to come. As for Col. *Lilburne's*, they were put into those extremities of Discontent, that they had drawn-away almost all their Officers; and came-in marching-up near to the Rendezvous, contrary to the Orders, the chiefest Officer with them being a Captain-Lieutenant, whom I have secured on purpose to try him at a Council of War; and, for Example's Sake, drew-out divers of the Mutineers, three whereof were presently tried and condemned to Death; and, by Lot, one of them was shot to Death at the Head of the Regiment; and there are more in Hold, to be tried. I do find the same Regiment likewise very sensible of their Error, and testifying much seeming Conformity to Commands; so that I doubt not but I shall be able to give you a good account of that Regiment also.— And, indeed, I do see that the *London-Agents* have been the great Authors of these Irregularities, and wish that some of better Quality may not have been their Abettors.

Major

‘ Major *Scot* came to the Rendezvous, and did carry
‘ himself very factiously ; not only testifying his own
‘ Discontent, but stirring-up others also to the same ;
‘ whereupon I desired him to withdraw out of the Field,
‘ and repair to the Parliament ; and commanded an
‘ Officer to attend him to the House of Commons.

‘ I thought it my Duty to give your Lordships this
‘ further Account, that Colonel *Rainsborough*, with
‘ some others, tendered this inclosed Petition, together
‘ with the *People’s Agreement* annexed thereunto. And
‘ (by what Hands I yet know not fully), very many
‘ Copies of the same Agreement were dispersed among
‘ the Soldiers, thereby to engage them. But (blessed be
‘ God !) all proved ineffectual ; and I may repeat it once
‘ again, I never yet, upon any Rendezvous, found Men
‘ better composed and better satisfied at parting, than
‘ these nine Regiments were ; and I trust in God, if a
‘ just Care be taken to answer their reasonable Desires,
‘ they will still so continue. But give me Leave to say,
‘ that I hope, out of a good Affection to you and this
‘ poor Kingdom, it will be your Lordship’s Glory and
‘ Honour to make such Use of this Mercy, as that all
‘ the World may see that which I know you intend, to
‘ wit, a speedy Settlement of those Things that I was
‘ bold to present to the House of Commons in my late
‘ Addresses, and the easing of this poor Kingdom of
‘ free Quarter ; by providing future Pay, that no free
‘ Quarters be taken, nor the Soldiers put to Shifts,
‘ nor I be unable to uphold the Discipline of the Army ;
‘ that they may be satisfied in their Arrears, according

‘ to

‘ to the former Desires ; and that the Act of Indemnity
‘ may be made full, and those other Things concerning
‘ the Soldiers in this Paper may be performed.

‘ I shall very much rejoice in the next Place, that
‘ you will please to anticipate all our Desires in those
‘ Things which concern the Settlement of the King-
‘ dom ; which, though they do not move so properly
‘ from us as Soldiers, yet, as *Englishmen*, who have
‘ engaged ourselves by our several Declarations to the
‘ Kingdom, we cannot but continue our humble and
‘ earnest Desires that they may be settled to Satisfaction ;
‘ and we hope it will not be any Regret to you that we
‘ become your Remembrancers therein ; and, my Lord,
‘ believe me, you will find that *Expedition* will be the
‘ Life of all the Things which concern the Soldiers and
‘ the Kingdom.

‘ We shall have our other Rendezvous with what
‘ Convenience may be ; of the Issue of which you shall
‘ Receive a speedy Account. There be four Regiments
‘ of Horse, one in *Wales*, *viz.* Col. *Hatton's*; Col.
‘ *Scroop's*, in *Somersetshire*; Col. *Tomlin's*, in *Lincoln-
shire*; Col. *Thornhagh's*, in *Nottinghamshire* ; of
‘ which I have very good Assurances that they will be
‘ very faithful and obedient to you and the Discipline
‘ of the Army. Having troubled you thus much, I
‘ rest

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

To

To his Excellency SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, our Noble General.

*The Humble Petition of many Officers and Soldiers
under his Command,*

Sheweth,

‘ THAT, in Judgement and Conscience, we engaged
‘ in War against the King, under your Excellency’s
‘ Command, to preserve and vindicate the Freedom
‘ of our native Countries, and of the Parliament in order
‘ thereunto :

‘ That, by the Blessing of God, all those our En-
‘ mies are fallen or fled before us ; that, for the same
‘ Ends, for our Rights, and for our Services, we were
‘ forced to hazard ourselves in disputing the Parlia-
‘ ment’s Commands ; and those our Opposers have
‘ likewise been subdued :

‘ That the Countries have petitioned your Excellency
‘ to procure the long-expected Settlement of their Free-
‘ doms :

‘ That we have waited many Months for the secur-
‘ ing to us, and all the free-born People, their native
‘ Rights, and for our Indemnity and Arrears as Sol-
‘ diers ; and our Hearts bleed to see our Country
‘ consumed under continued Distractions and heavy
‘ Oppressions :

‘ That we see no Hope of Indemnity of us and our
‘ Assistants, nor of settling the Foundations of Free-

‘ dom

‘ dom, but by entering into this *Agreement* (c); which
‘ we herewith offer unto your Excellency, desiring your
‘ Concurrence therein :

‘ That we have seen and felt the sad Consequences
‘ of being divided and scattered, before our native Free-
‘ doms were settled, and our Arrears secured, and such
‘ a Way established for constant Pay that we may know
‘ where to receive it monthly without fail :

‘ That we are bound in Conscience, from the
‘ Sense of our Duty to our native Country, and in
‘ Mercy to ourselves, to keep-together with our Swords
‘ in our Hands, to maintain these our Freedoms, for
‘ which the Parliament first invited us to take Arms;
‘ to see our Arrears and Pay secured, and our dear
‘ Country freed from these intolerable Burdens.

‘ May it therefore please your Excellency to go-on,
‘ in owning and leading us in Maintenance of this our
‘ Cause, to the Righteousness whereof God hath born
‘ such clear Witness; and in the Prosecution of these
‘ Things, we humbly desire to live and die under your
‘ Excellency’s Conduct.’

After reading all these Papers the Lords resolved to have a present Conference with the Commons thereupon. A Committee being appointed accordingly, the Earl of *Northumberland* reported the Heads to be offered at the Conference; which, being read and considered, were approved of as follows, viz.

(e) In the Margin of the *Lords Journals* in this Entry, ‘ The People’s Engagement was annexed to this Petition, with these Words printed on the back Side, in Capital Letters, viz. ENGLAND’s FREEDOM, SOLDIER’s RIGHTS.’ — But we find no Copy of it there, nor in any of our Collections.

‘ That

The two houses of Parliament thank General Fairfax, for his spirited conduct in suppressing the mutineers, at the late rendezvous at Ware.

‘ That a Letter of Thanks be written to the General from both Houses, desiring the continuance of his Care to see exemplary Justice done, upon those who shall have raised, or shall endeavour to raise, Mutinies, and

factionally to subvert the Order and good Government of the Army ; and a Committee of both Houses to prepare the same.

‘ That a speedy Course may be taken to give some present Satisfaction to the Army in their Pay, and such a Settlement of Pay to them for the future, that the Kingdom may not continue under the Burden of free Quarter, nor the Soldiers be put to Shifts.

‘ That some real Satisfaction may be given to the Army in respect of their Arrears ; and the Act of Indemnity to be made full.

‘ That there may be a Committee of both Houses appointed to examine the Proceedings of those *London Agents*, mentioned in the General’s Letter, and all others who are known, or shall justly be suspected, to have been the Authors and Abettors of these seditious Irregularities, whereupon some exemplary Justice may be done : and because Col. *Rainsborough*, and Major *Scot*, Members of the House of Commons, are named in the General’s Letter to have acted in this Business, to desire that House to take it into their Care so to proceed with them, as may conduce to the Safety of this Kingdom, and the Preservation of this present Government.

‘ That Col. *Rainsborough*, who is named in the General’s Letter to have been active, with others, at this

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Rendezvous, may not be suffered to go to Sea till this Business be fully examined (d).

‘ That for the Satisfaction of the Kingdom and Army, and to discharge ourselves of the Duty and Trust that lies upon both Houses, a speedy Course may be taken and prosecuted to quiet the present Distractions, and to settle the Peace of the Kingdoms.’

By the first of the two foregoing papers, intitled, “*A Remonstrance from Sir Thomas Fairfax and his Council of War*,” it appears that the General and his Council of War had of late found the greatest interruption to their Proceedings from a few men who were indeed members of the Army, but who, without any authority, or just call thereunto, had assumed the name of *Agents for several regiments*, and took upon them to act as a divided party from the said Council and Army, and, associating themselves with diverse private persons that were not of the Army, had endeavoured, by various Falsehoods and Scandals, raised and divulged in Print and otherwise, against the General, the General Officers, and Council of the Army, to possess the Army and the Kingdom, with Jealousies of them, and Prejudices against them, as if they had deserted the principles upon which they had been first engaged, and had forfeited their trust, and had become false and treacherous both to the Army and the Kingdoms; and, by these false charges, had raised divisions and mutinies in the Army. And these were the persons that were now inculcating the necessity of setting the King aside, or

Remarks on the first
of the two foregoing
papers.

(d) Who had been appointed Vice-Admiral of the Fleet about two Months before,

putting him to death as the guilty cause of all the blood that had been shed in the late war, and of afterwards changing the form of Government from a Monarchy into a Commonwealth, or Republick ; all which was directly contrary to the wishes and principles of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was a most upright, modest, and unambitious, man, as well as one of the bravest, most active and indefatigable, and successful, Generals that ever lived.

Remarks on the second of the two foregoing papers.

And by the second of the two foregoing Papers, or the Letter of General Fairfax to the Parliament, giving an account of the Rendezvous of the Army at Ware on the 15th of November, 1647, it appears that the Regiments who met there in obedience to the General's order were only seven, to wit, three of Foot, and four of Horse ; the three of Foot being those of the General himself, and of Colonel Pride, and Colonel Hammond, and the four of Horse being the General's own Regiment, and those of Colonel Rich, Colonel Fleetwood, and Colonel Twisleton. All these Regiments behaved with great order and submission to Military Authority, and professed a firm resolution to be faithful to their engagements in support of the Parliament, in order to a happy settlement of the Kingdom.

But there were two other Regiments, one of Horse, and one of Foot, namely Colonel Harrison's Regiment of Horse, and Colonel Lilburn's Regiment of Foot, that came to this Rendezvous without orders. And these Regiments appear to have been very much abused and deluded by the intercourse they had had with the above-mentioned pretended Agents of the Army whom they

they had met with in London. For, when they came into the Field where the Rendezvous was held, (which they did without having had the General's orders to attend it,) they brought with them in their hats a Paper commonly called, *The Agreement of the People*, and seemed very much inflamed towards Mutiny and Disobedience. But General Fairfax adds that he soon perceived that these men had been merely cozened and abused with fair pretences of those men who had acted in the London Councils : for Colonel Harrison's Regiment was no sooner informed by the General of their error, but, with a great deal of readiness and chearfulness, they submitted to him, and expressed the same Affection and resolution of obedience with the other Regiments ; so that he believed the Parliament would have a very good account of them for the time to come. The General then mentions the more disorderly and mutinous behaviour of the other Regiment which came to the Rendezvous without orders, namely, Colonel Lilburn's Regiment of Foot; to suppress which he found it necessary to seize upon several of the soldiers, and try them for mutiny ; of whom three were found guilty, and condemned to die, and one of the three, by lot, was immediately shot to death at the head of the regiment. And then he adds, that he finds that regiment also to have become very sensible of their error, and to have testified much seeming conformity to commands. And in the end of his account of what passed at this famous Rendezvous, the General uses these words; " and I may repeat it once again, I never yet, upon any Rendezvous, found men better composed and better satisfied at parting, than these nine Regiments were."

PREFACE.

In this account given by Gen. Fairfax himself, of this famous Rendezvous of the Army, at Ware, on the 15th of November, 1647; there is no mention made of Lt. Gen. Cromwell as having taken a very active part in causing the 14 seditious soldiers to be arrested and tried as mutineers, and one of them to be shot to death immediately, and 11 to be imprisoned. But this is distinctly mentioned in another account of it given by a writer of great authority, who probably was present at it; I mean Lt. Gen. Edmund Ludlow, in the first volume of his Memoirs, in the Edinburgh Edition of them, printed in the year 1751, pages 192, 193. This account is as follows:

- Another account of
the same Rendezvous
given by Lieutenant
General Ludlow.

The time for the general Rendezvous of the Army being now come, the Commonwealth-party amongst them declared to stand to their engagement, "not to be dispersed till the things they had demanded were effected, and the Government of the nation established." To make good which resolution, several regiments appeared in the field with distinguishing marks in their hats. But Lt. Gen. Cromwell, not contenting himself with his part in an equal Government, puffed-up by his successes to an expectation of greater things, and having driven a bargain with the Grandees in the house, either to comply with the King, or to settle things in a factious way without him, procured a party to stand by him in the seizing some of those who appeared at the rendezvous in opposition to his designs. To this end, being accompanied with divers officers whom

whom he had preferred, and by that means made his creatures, he rode up to one of the regiments which had the distinguishing marks, requiring them to take them out: which they not doing, he caused several of them to be seized ; and then, their hearts failing, they yielded obedience to his commands. He ordered one of them to be shot dead upon the place ; delivering the rest of those whom he had seized, being eleven in number, into the hands of the Marshal ; and having dispersed the army to their quarters, went to give an account of his proceedings to the parliament. And, though, when an agreement with the King was carried-on by other hands, he could countenance the army in opposition to the parliament ; yet now, the bargain for the people's liberty being driven-on by himself, he opposed those who laboured to obstruct it, pretending his so doing to be only in order to keep the army in subjection to the parliament ; who, being very desirous to have this spirit suppressed in the army by any means, not only approved what they had done, but gave him the thanks of the house for the same. Whereunto, though single, I gave as loud a *No* as I could, being fully convinced that he had acted in this manner for no other end but to advance his own passion and power into the room of right and reason ; and took the first opportunity to tell him, “ that, the army having taken the power into “ their hands, (as in effect they had done,) every drop of “ blood shed in that extraordinary way, would be required “ of them, unless the rectitude of their intentions and ac- “ tions did justify them ; of which they had need to be “ very careful.”

Remarks on the two
foregoing accounts of
this Rendezvous of
the Army.

The account of this famous rendezvous of the Army at Ware, here given by General *Ludlow* in his Memoirs, seems to be considerably different from, though not absolutely contrary to, or incompatible with, the former account given of it in General *Fairfax's* Letter to the Parliament. For in this account of General *Ludlow* this rendezvous is called a *general* rendezvous of the Army, as if it had been a rendezvous of the whole army, or, at least, of all those regiments that appeared at it; whereas, in General *Fairfax's* Letter to the Parliament, it is stated to have been a rendezvous of only seven regiments of the Army, to wit, four regiments of Horse, and three of Foot, who had been summoned by the General's order to attend it; but that some parts of two other regiments, those of Col. *Harrison* and Col. *Lilburne*, came there in an irregular and disorderly manner, and without having received any orders to attend it; and that it was only in these two last regiments, and chiefly in that of Col. *Lilburne*, that these sentiments in favour of a change of the form of the government of the Nation from a limited Monarchy into a Republick, or Commonwealth, were manifested by some papers which the Soldiers wore in their hats; though in General *Ludlow's* account it is said, "that *several* regiments appeared in the field with distinguishing marks in their hats". And, secondly, in this account of this rendezvous by General *Ludlow* there is no mention made of General *Fairfax's* having taken any active step whatsoever towards suppressing this mutinous spirit in some of the regiments, nor even of his having been present at the rendezvous; but all the exertions used for that purpose are ascribed to

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the Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, as if the Rendezvous had been held before him alone. However, notwithstanding these differences between these two accounts, (which are but omissions and not contradictions,) I think both of them must be admitted to be true. And from both of them one would naturally suppose that the mutinous disposition of the republican part of the army, that had worn those seditious papers in their hats, had been perfectly subdued. But this was far from being true. For we are positively informed both by *Sir John Berkeley* in his Memoirs and by General *Ludlow* in his, (which agree perfectly with *Sir John Berkeley's*,) that, within a few days, (less than a week,) after the above-mentioned Rendezvous of the Army at Ware, great numbers of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army,—the expression used by both *Sir John Berkeley* and General *Ludlow* is *two thirds of the Army*,—had been since with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to tell them “That, “though they were certain to perish in the enterprize, “they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the “whole army to their sense; and that, if all failed, “they would make a division in the army, and join “with any who would assist them in the destruction of “those that should oppose them”. In consequence of these declarations from so great a part of the Army, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had argued thus: “If the army “should divide, the greatest part will join with the “Presbyterians, and will, in all likelihood, prevail to “our ruin by forcing us to make our applications to the “King; wherein we shall rather beg, than offer, any “assistance; which if the king shall give, and after-

But, notwithstanding the submission of the Army to the General's authority at the Rendezvous, the Republican part of the Army becomes the more powerful, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* goes over to it.

“wards have the good fortune to prevail, if he shall
“then pardon us, it will be all that we can pretend-to,
“and more than we can certainly promise to ourselves.
“We must therefore conclude, that, since we cannot
“bring the army to our sense, it will be best for us to
“comply with theirs; a schism between us being utterly
“destructive to both parties”. And, in pursuance of
this resolution, *Cromwell* bent all his thoughts to make
his peace with the party that was most opposite to the
king; acknowledging (as he well knew how to do on
such occasions) “that the Glory of the world had so
“dazzled his eyes that he could not discern clearly the
“great works that the Lord was doing”. He sent also
(as *Ludlow* informs us) comfortable messages to the
prisoners that he had seized at the late rendezvous,
assuring them that nothing should be done to their
prejudice; and by these, and the like, arts he perfected
his reconciliation.

And from this time the Commonwealth Party, both
in the army (where it was very numerous) and in the
Parliament (where it formed but an inconsiderable
minority), were resolved to decline treating with the
king for his restoration to the exercise of the royal
authority, upon any terms at all, and thought it safer
and better for the permanent peace and welfare of the
Nation, to settle the state without him. And in this
resolution *Cromwell*, since his late reconciliation with the
Commonwealth Party, seems to have concurred; but
till that event, I conceive him to have continued sincere
in his professions of attachment to the king, and in his
desire of being the chief instrument of his restoration to

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the exercise of his royal authority upon the moderate proposals drawn-up by Commissary-general *Ireton*, or such others as might be thought sufficient to protect the Liberties and privileges of the people against any future attempts of arbitrary Power in the Crown.

But I have lately met with another account of the above-mentioned Rendezvous of the first Brigade of the Parliament's Army near Ware before General *Fairfax* on the 15th of November, 1647, that was published immediately after it, by a person who was present at it, and who set his name to his description of it. This account is the first tract of a small pamphlet, published on the 16th of November, 1647, or the very next day after the said Rendezvous was held before *Sir Thomas Fairfax*. The Title of this Pamphlet is as follows :

1. A full relation of the Proceedings at the Rendezvous of that Brigade of the Army that was held at *Cork-bush Field* in Hartford Parish on Monday last;
2. And a Letter from the Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons to *Sir Thomas Fairfax* concerning the said Rendezvous; with a Paper entitled *England's Freedoms and Soldier's Rights*.
3. Also a Petition to his Excellency, *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, of diverse officers and soldiers of the Army under his command;
4. Together with a Declaration against the Proceedings of the *New Agents*. —— November 15th, 1647.

Imprimatur.

GILBERT MABBOT.

London, printed November 16th, 1647.

The first of the four Tracts mentioned in this Title-page of this small pamphlet, which contains an account of this celebrated Rendezvous of the Army, is in the words following.

A full Relation of the Proceedings at the Rendezvous of that Brigade of the Army that was held at Cork-bush Field in Hartford Parish on Monday last.

THIS day, according to appointment, the Rendezvous of the first Brigade of the Army was held in *Cork-bush Field* in Hartford Parish, between Hartford and Ware, Hartford being the head-quarters,—Saturday and Sunday. The General went from thence to the Rendezvous, where, according to order, there met of Horse, the General's Regiment, Colonel Fleetwood's, Colonel Rich's, and Colonel Twistleton's; of Foot, the General's, Colonel Hammond's, and Colonel Pride's—And besides these, upon the seducements of the *New Agents*, Colonel Harrison's, and Colonel Lilburn's Regiments—The General expressed himself very gallantly, at the head of every Regiment, to live and die with them for those particulars which were contained in a Remonstrance read to every Regiment; And, notwithstanding the endeavours of Major Scott and others to animate the Soldiers to stand to the Paper called *The Agreement of the People*, they generally, by many acclamations, declared their Affections and Resolutions to adhere to the General; and as many as could, in the short time they had allowed, signed an Agreement drawn-up for that purpose, concerning their being ready from time to time to observe such orders, as they should receive from the General and Council of the army. I had sent you

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the copy of this Agreement, and His Excellency's Remonstrance, but that I was so shortened in time I could not:—I should have acquainted you before, That, upon the General's coming into the field, Colonel *Eyres*, Major *Scot*, and others, were observed to be insinuating divers seditious principles into the Soldiers, and incensing them against the General and General Officers: Upon which order was given for the commitment of Colonel *Eyre*, and others, into the Marshal's hands, and Major *Scot* committed to the custody of Lieutenant *Chillenden*, and sent-up to the Parliament—Some inferior persons were likewise committed for dispersing sundry scandalous and factious papers, as *the Agreement of the People*, &c., among the private Soldiers.—And finding that those persons who pretend most for the freedom of the people, had dispersed divers of these papers amongst Colonel *Lilburn*'s Regiment of Foot (the most mutinous Regiment in the Army) strict command was given for them to tear them and cast them away; which was done; and Captain-Lieutenant *Bray* (who was the only officer, above a Lieutenant, left amongst them, (the rest being driven-away by the mutinous Soldiers, and one of them wounded) was taken from the head of that Regiment and committed to custody, it being alledged, That he had led-on the Soldiers to that Rendezvous contrary to orders. And afterwards a Council of War being called in the field, divers Mutineers, for example's sake, were drawn-forth, three of them were tried and condemned to death, and one of them (whose turn it fell to by lot) was shot to death at the head of the Regiment; and others are in hold to be tried. The

Soldiers

Soldiers of this Regiment crying-out, That they were abused by their Officers; and being told by the Lieutenant-General, That they should have justice against them, were very much satisfied, sensible of their error, and promised conformity to the General's commands for the future. Colonel *Rainsborough*, and some others, presented this inclosed Petition, and *The Agreement of the People*, to His Excellency at his first coming. Colonel *Harrison's* Regiment who had them in their Hats, with this Motto on the outside in Capital Letters, *England's-Freedom and Soldier's Rights*, when they understood their error, tore them out of their Hats, and expressed their resolution to be obedient to His Excellency's commands—Lieutenant Colonel *John Lilburn* came this day to Ware ; but, things not succeeding at the Rendezvous according to expectation, came not further. Sir, As I cannot but rejoice in this day's Unity, in Relation to the Peace of the Kingdom ; so, I hope, That the issue will tend to the benefit thereof ; and that the General and Officers of the Army will do as much for the real freedom of the People, as the others do pretend ; and how good soever their intentions may be, nothing but confusion at present appears in their endeavours. In much haste I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
Hartford, 15th Nov., 1647. WILLIAM CLARK.

This account of this famous Rendezvous of the Army on the 15th of November, 1647, agrees perfectly with that of General Fairfax himself in his Letter to the Parliament above recited, and only adds a few particular circumstances to it.

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The next tract contained in this small pamphlet containing the foregoing account of this Rendezvous of the Army given us by Mr. William Clark (who was present at it) consists of a Letter from *Mr. Lenthall*, the Speaker of the House of Commons, to General *Fairfax*, together with a copy of the paper called *England's Freedom and Soldier's Rights*, which some of the troopers in Colonel Harrison's regiment of Horse wore in their Hats on that occasion, but were soon persuaded by General Fairfax's exhortations and commands to tear-off and throw-away. The title of this tract is as follows.

Of the Paper called
The Agreement of the people, carried in the
hats of the republican soldiers.

England's Freedom, and Soldiers Rights. An Agreement of the People for a firm and present Peace upon Grounds of Common Right.

HAVING, by our late Labours and Hazards, made it appear to the World, at how high a rate we value our just Freedom; and, God having so far owned our cause as to deliver the enemies thereof into our hands: We do now hold ourselves bound, in mutual duty to each other, to take the best care we can for the future to avoid both the danger of returning into a slavish condition, and the chargeable remedy of another war. For, as it cannot be imagined that so many of our countrymen would have opposed us in this quarrel if they had understood their own good; so may we safely promise to ourselves that, when our common rights and Liberties shall be cleared, their endeavours will be disappointed that seek to make themselves our masters. Since therefore our former oppressions and scarce-yet-ended trou-

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bles have been occasioned either by want of frequent National meetings in Counsel, or by rendering those meetings ineffectual, We are fully agreed and resolved to provide that hereafter our Representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for the time, nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended : In order whereunto We Declare,

1st, That the People of England, being at this day very unequally distributed by Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, for the election of their Deputies in Parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the number of the Inhabitants ; the circumstances whereof, for number, place, and manner, are to be set-down before the end of this present Parliament.

2ndly, That to prevent the many inconveniencies apparent arising from the long continuance of the same persons in authority, this present Parliament be dissolved upon the last day of September which shall be in the year of our Lord 1648.

3dly, That the People do, of course, chuse themselves a Parliament once in two years, viz. upon the first Thursday of every second March, after such manner as shall be prescribed before the end of this Parliament, to begin to sit upon the first Thursday in April following, at Westminster, or such other place as shall be appointed from time to time by the preceding Representatives; and to continue till the last day of September then next ensuing, and no longer.

4thly, That the Power of this, and all future Representatives of this Nation, is inferiour only to theirs who chuse them, and doth extend, without the consent, or concurrence

concurrence, of any other person or persons, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of Laws; to the erecting and abolishing of Offices of all degrees; to the making of War or Peace; to the treating with Foreign States; and, generally, to whatsoever is not expressly, or implyedly, reserved by the Represented to themselves; which are as followeth; to wit,

1st, *That Matters of Religion and the ways of God's worship are not at all intrusted by us to any human power; because therein we cannot remit, or exceed, a tittle of what our Conscience dictates to be the mind of God, without wilful sin.* Nevertheless the publick way of instructing the nation (so it be not compulsive) is referred to their discretion.

2ndly, *That the matter of Impressing and constrainting any of us to serve in the wars, is against our Freedom: and therefore we do not allow it in our representatives; and the rather because, Money (the sinews of War) being always at their disposal, they can never want numbers of men apt enough to engage in any just cause.*

3dly, *That, after the dissolution of this present Parliament, no person be at any time questioned for anything said, or done, in reference to the late publick differences, otherwise than in execution of the judgements of the present Representatives, or House of Commons.*

4thly, *That in all Laws, made, or to be made, every Person may be bound alike; and that no Tenure, Estate, Charter, Degree, Birth, or Place, do confer any Exemption from the ordinary course of legal proceedings, whereunto others are subjected.*

5thly,

5thly, That, as the Laws ought to be equal, so they must be good, and not evidently destructive to the safety and well-being of the People.

These things we declare to be our native Rights, and therefore are resolved to maintain them with our utmost possible abilities against all opposition whatsoever ; being compelled thereunto not only by the example of our ancestors, whose blood was often spilt in vain for the recovery of their freedoms, (suffering themselves, through fraudulent accommodations, to be still deluded of the fruit of their victories,) but also by our own woful experience ; who, having long expected, and dearly earned, the establishment of these certain rules of Government, are yet made to depend, for the settlement of our Peace and Freedom, upon him that intended our bondage, and brought a cruel war upon us.

From this paper called *The Agreement of the People*, which was worn in the hats of some of the troopers of General Harrison's regiment of Horse who attended the above-mentioned Rendezvous near Ware without the General's Orders, it appears that the design of that part of the Army which adopted the Principles there laid-down, was to intirely change the form of the English Government from that of a *Limited Monarchy* into that of a *pure Republick*, or *Common-wealth*, governed by a numerous House of Commons fairly and freely chosen by the Inhabitants of the several Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, into which the country was divided, at the end of every two years, without either a King or a House

of

of Lords ; or, (to make use of their own words above-recited in the 4th article of their *Agreement* in the last line of page lx^v, *without the consent, or concurrence, of any other person, or persons, to the enacting, altering, or repealing, of Laws, &c.*) But this way of thinking was not yet become general in the Army, though it prevailed there more than in any other considerable Body of men in the kingdom. And it had been increased amongst them during the king's residence at Hampton-court for more than three months, from the beginning of the month of August, 1647, by his haughty and contemptuous rejection of the very moderate Proposals of the Army that had been drawn-up by Commissary-General Ireton, and presented to him by the great officers of it for his acceptance about that time, and afterwards, in the month of September, by his rejection of a proposal made by the Parliament itself for the same purpose of restoring him to the exercise of the royal authority, upon such conditions as they thought absolutely necessary for their own safety after he should again be seated on the throne. But about the middle of the month of October, 1647, Colonel Rainsborough, and Colonel Eyres, and Major Scot, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburn, and others of the officers of the Army who were the most zealously attached to republican principles, (and who had been with some difficulty prevailed-upon by Cromwell and Ireton and their party in the preceeding month of July, to consent to offer the king the Proposals above-mentioned that were drawn-up by General Ireton, and rejected by the king in August,) had taken great pains to spread and enforce

force their republican opinions in the Army; and, amongst other things, they had prevailed upon the soldiers of some of the Regiments to chuse two new Agitators, besides the two which they had chosen in the preceeding Month of June to discuss and support their rights, when they first began to refuse obedience to the orders of Parliament. And these new Agitators were also called *Agents for the Army*, because they were authorized, or supposed to be authorized, by the soldiers who elected them, to absent themselves from the places in which their regiments were quartered, and to resort to London, and there to converse with republican members of Parliament, or rich citizens of London, or Lawyers, or other persons that speculated on the subject of Civil Government, and best understood the nature of republican Governments, and were most inclined to adopt them; and they were even supposed to be authorized, or they pretended to be authorized, by the regiments which had elected them, to give the consent of the said regiments to such new plans of republican Government as they should have thought fit to consent to. These new Agitators, or *Agents for the Army*, seem to be the persons mentioned by the latter name of *Agents for the Army*, in the Remonstrance of General Fairfax to the Parliament concerning the late Discontent and Distraction in the Army, printed above in pages xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, and xxxix, dated Hartford, November 14, 1647. But there is further mention made of them in the fourth, or last, tract published in the little Pamphlet above-mentioned containing the account of the aforesaid Rendezvous of the Army

on the 15th of November, 1647, signed *William Clark* ; which fourth tract is intitled *A Declaration against the Proceedings of the new Agents*, and is as follows :

A Declaration against the New Agents.

A Declaration of the Officers and Soldiers of Colonel Whalley's Troop of Horse against the new Agents of the Army in London, about the 15th of November, 1647.

Forasmuch as our Condition with the Army in May and June last, occasioned us to make choice of Agitators for transacting of our business with and representation of our grievances to, the General, and, by him, to the Parliament, for the keeping of a mutual correspondency and unanimous compliance amongst us, for the clearing of all misprisions and misapprehensions that might any way retard the firm establishment of a lasting Peace in this unhappy kingdom, as also in Order and relation to the compleat satisfaction of the Souldiery. Notwithstanding, upon several informations [given to us] that those formerly employed by us did more consult their own advancement than the publick settlement, we were induced, about the 19th of October last, to make choice of two new Agitators for a Regiment; not, in the least manner, intending that they should presume to usurp authority over the General, the Council of War, the old Agitators, or over the kingdom, or over us, so as to appoint conventions at their own pleasure, and there to compose, and publish in print to the world, strange and unheard of Fancies, and frame Ideas of their own brain, and bring them to us to father. But the authority we derived upon them, was only to act according to our first-engaged Principles, with the Consent and Advice of the General, the Council of War, and the Agitators first-elected,---to clear those things that seemed dubious unto us; to

prevent misinformations ; to endeavour to facilitate things that appeared difficult ; to make us intelligent subjects what progress had been made in order to our first engagement and representations to the Parliament, and to improve their best assistance to remove such obstructions as did any way impede the just and legal proceedings of the Army. And, whereas they have, contrary to the trust reposed in them—contrary to the end for which they were selected and chosen, and, indeed, contrary to the duty of good subjects cast-off all allegiance and obedience (as we conceive) to all present visible Authority in the Kingdom, and have betaken themselves to a new-framed Cite of refuge, have declared that they will persist in that way positively against all opposition whatsoever, have endeavoured to incense the nation [against the Army by alledging] that the army's intentions, declarations, and remonstrances have been but to gull and mislead the people, and have rejected all terms of correspondency with those formerly entrusted and employed by us ; and all this acted, printed, and published before any antecedaneous notice thereof given to, or consent had from, their respective Regiments. Therefore we do declare to the said pretended Agitators, and to all the world, that we are so far from countenancing their preposterous proceedings, as that we hereby testify our utter dislike to them : And do hereby re-call any pretended authority that the said Agitators make claim-to from us, and likewise do require them to return to their several and respective Troops, and not to persist any farther by virtue of any colourable pretence whatsoever; we being fully resolved to adhere to the former mutual

Agreement

Agreement of the Army, and not to act in a distinct way from the generall Council of War, and those Agitators formerly entrusted by us, much less in opposition to them ; but to comply with them in all such things as may conduce to the speedy redress of the publick distractions of the kingdom, and the bringing to perfection our just desires contained and specified in the engagements and several declarations of the Army, and will make choice of such men as shall be appointed to communicate their utmost endeavours in the assistance of the General and Council of War, in such a way as may best conduce to the *Bene esse* of the Nation.

Consented to, and subscribed by,
the Officers and Souldiers in
Col. Whalley's own Troop.

From the foregoing Declaration of the Officers and Soldiers of Colonel Whalley's own troop of Horse, (which was printed about the time of the above-men-
tioned Rendezvous of the Army on the 15th of November, 1647,) and from the Letter signed E. R. sent to the King to advise him to make his escape from Hampton-Court, which is dated on November the 9th, or two days before he did escape from thence, (and which mentions the violent designs against his Life entertained by the Agitators then at London, and expressed at a meeting in London on the 8th of November, 1647, at which eight, or nine, of them were present ;—I say, from this Declaration and this Letter, it seems evident that the efforts of Colonel Rainsborough, Colonel Eyre, Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburn, Major Scot, and the other

other patrons of the Republican Mode of Government, had increased, (after the King's two refusals of the proposals made to him for his restoration to the exercise of the royal authority by the Army in the beginning of August, and by the Parliament in September,) to a high degree of violence, and had been attended with great success in the Army in making many converts to their opinion, before the 19th of October, when these *new Agitators* were chosen by some of the Regiments: and it was, probably, in the interval of time from October 19th to the beginning of November, that the Jealousy of the republican part of the Army against Cromwell, and their suspicions that he intended to sacrifice the Interests of the Army and of the Nation at large to the gratification of his own Ambition by restoring the King to the throne upon too easy terms, in order to obtain from him great honours and emoluments as rewards for so great a service, increased to such a degree as to make him declare that he thought his Life was in danger from the republican soldiers, insomuch that he hardly dared venture to sleep at his own lodging at Putney, where the head-quarters of the Army were then established. And it was in order to check and suppress this violent republican spirit among the Soldiers, and to reduce the Army to it's former state of discipline and obedience to the General and his Council of War, that he exhorted General Fairfax to give orders for the above-mentioned Rendezvous of a great part of the Army near Ware, and also, in all probability, prevailed upon his favourite and dependant, Colonel Whalley, to procure from the officers and soldiers of his own troop the presentation and signature of the

the foregoing Declaration against the *new Agents*, or **Agitators**, in the Army, who were so busy in propagating their republican principles. And at that Rendezvous the Army seemed to be compleatly reduced to their former state of Discipline and Obedience to their Superior officers. But this Obedience was but temporary and imperfect ; for, in the short space of two, or three, days after the Rendezvous, great numbers of the Officers went to the lodgings of Cromwell and Ireton, and positively declared to them, that, if they continued in their resolution of restoring the King to the exercise of the Royal authority, and preventing the design of the republican part of the Army to establish a Popular Government instead of the former Monarchy of England, from being carried into execution, they were resolved to divide the army against them, and to use their utmost efforts, even by force of arms, to carry that favourite measure into effect. These declarations struck a terror into Cromwell, and made him intirely give-up his former design of being the principal instrument of restoring the king to the exercise of his authority, and go-over to the party that was most adverse to him, in order to recover his own great influence over the Army, which had been all along, from the beginning of the Civil War, the great foundation of his power and importance in the State, and was likely to continue to be of the same advantage to him in the remaining years through which the war might be protracted.

As to the more quiet and obedient part of the army, who submitted chearfully to the directions of their General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, at the above-mentioned

Rendezvous at *Cork-bush-Field* near Ware, on the 15th of November, 1647, and who had not adopted these new Political opinions in favour of Republican Government, they seem to have carried their wishes of refor-

The only reforms in the Monarchical Government of England that were desired by General Fairfax, and that part of the Army who continued obedient to his orders. mation of the late exorbitant abuses of the regal authority no farther than to correct the old monarchical form of Government by the Addition of such provisions as

should make it impossible for the king to govern the nation without the concurrence of the Parliament, as king Charles had done for ten years together before the Civil War began; and for that purpose, to require that the times of the meeting of the Parliament should be properly fixed and known; and that the elections of the members of the House of Commons should be made for short periods of time, and with such alterations of the places which should have the right of sending members to it, *as to render the House of Commons, as near as may be, an equal representative of the people who are to elect them;* as is expressed above in the Remonstrance of General Fairfax and his Council of War to the Parliament on the 14th of November, 1647, herein before-recited, in page xxxviii.

And we may observe with respect to one of these provisions desired by General Fairfax and his Army in this Remonstrance, namely, that which relates to the frequency of new elections of the members of the House of Commons, "that it was desiring no more than what the Nation was already intitled-to by the Law of the Land; there having been two Acts of Parliament passed in the reign of the great king Edward the 3d, (the first of them in the 4th year, and the second in

The old Law of England directed that there should be one, or more than one, new Parliament, assembled in every year.

the

the 36th year, of his reign) enacting, “*That a Parliament shall be holden once in every year; or more often, if need shall be.*” And these acts of Parliament have never been repealed.

Nor were these annual Parliaments merely different Sessions of the same Parliament holden by repeated Prorogations of it by the king to a distant day at the end of several weeks (as is now the practice,) but they were summoned by new writs of Election ; as, I have been well assured, appears by the records of the Parliament in the remaining 14 years of the reign of king Edward the 3d, and in the first 20 years of the reign of his immediate Successor, king Richard the 2nd ; in which records several instances occur of two Parliaments, and some few instances of more than two Parliaments, having been summoned by separate writs of Election, to meet the king for the transaction of publick business, in the course of a single year.*

And this moderate reformation of the English Government, which is recommended by General Fairfax and his Army in the Remonstrance above-recited, is probably that which would have taken place, if the Parliament (of which the greater part were attached to the old form of the English Government, by a king acting, in Legislative matters, in conjunction with the two

* See upon this subject of “ Statutes ordaining that a new Parliament shal be holden in England once, or more often, in every year,” a long note in pages 132, 133, 134, and 135 of the new Edition of the Three tracts, intitled *Ludlow's Letters*, published in the year 1812, and sold by Mr. White, bookseller, in Fleet Street, and now by Mr. Bickerstaff, bookseller, in the Strand, near Essex Street.

Houses of Parliament,) had not been interrupted and opposed by the violent and republican part of the Army in their endeavours to put an end to the burthens and confusion arising from the war, by restoring the king to the exercise of his royal authority upon such conditions as should be both honourable to the king, and safe and beneficial to the people. But, between the king's obstinacy on the one hand, in refusing the several moderate proposals that had been repeatedly made to him for his restoration to the exercise of his royal authority ; and the violence of the republican party in the Army, on the other ;—the Nation continued in a state of turbulence and confusion for more than twelve years after the above-mentioned Rendezvous of the Army, namely, till the month of May, 1660, when, by the unanimous vote of a new House of Commons, the old form of Government was restored by admitting king Charles the Second to the Throne, without a previous treaty with him ; upon which vote of the said new House of Commons, the members of the House of Lords resumed their seats, and acted again as the upper house of Parliament, as they had done before, until their violent suppression and abolition by the vote of the minority of the House of Commons, who were permitted by the Army to continue sitting there, a few weeks before the death of King Charles the 1st. And, upon this vote of that newly-elected House of Commons, for re-calling King Charles the Second to the Throne, and reviving the old and favourite Government of England by a King and two Houses of Parliament, almost the whole Nation were transported with

Joy.

Joy, and seemed to consider it as a most wonderful event brought-about by the Mercy and Providence of God, and a sort of resurrection from the grave.

These are all the remarks that have occurred to me as necessary to be laid before the readers of this volume of tracts, concerning *the Memoirs of Sir John Berkley*, which is the Fifth tract in the collection.

The next, or Sixth, tract in this collection is a very short one, that takes-up only ten pages and a half, beginning in page 397, and ending in page 407. It is Of the Sixth tract in
the present Collection.
intitled, *Sundry reasons inducing Major Robert Huntingdon to lay-down his Commission : Humbly presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, on the 2d of August, A.D. 1648.*

This tract, though short, is of considerable importance in illustrating the history of these times, by fully setting-forth the ambitious and deceitful character of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with which he was perfectly well acquainted by having been Major of the Regiment of Horse, of which Cromwell was Colonel, during all the year 1647, in which those unhappy disputes between the Parliament and the Army took place, which prevented the immediate restoration of Peace to the Nation after the compleat victory they had obtained over the King and his whole Party, and the possession of his person as their prisoner of war. But, instead of co-operating with the Parliament in their endeavours to bring-about such a quiet and happy termination of the war, which had disturbed the Nation for the last five years,

years, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, as Major Huntingdon informs us, was the person who, in the months of May and June, 1647, encouraged the Soldiers to refuse to obey the orders of the Parliament, and advised them to chuse two private soldiers from every regiment to be a council of representatives of the soldiers of the Army, that should express the sentiments of the Soldiers upon all publick matters that they should think fit to take into their consideration, to whom they gave the name of *Agitators* for the Army. And he encouraged these Agitators, without any order from Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General of the Army, or his having any knowledge of the proposed measure, and without any written order from himself (who was Lieutenant-General of the Army) or any written order whatsoever from any person, to send Cornet Joyce, at the head of a body of horse-troops, to Holdenby Castle, in Northamptonshire, (where the king then resided under the custody of Commissioners appointed by the Parliament,) and to remove the king from thence by force into some place near the quarters occupied by the Army ; which was accordingly done by Cornet Joyce, on the 4th of June, 1647. And, in the subsequent part of this paper, Major Huntingdon represents the king as having, after he had first refused to consent to the proposals made him by the Army, been so terrified at the power exhibited by the Army on their marching into London, and taking possession of the Tower, and taking several other violent measures in opposition to the citizens of London, on the 6th of August, 1647, as to retract his late refusal of the army's proposals, and to declare that he was ready to consent

to

to them, for the sake of avoiding the miseries of another civil war. And from that time, if I understand Major Huntingdon's narrative rightly, the neglect of the army in not carrying those proposals into execution, was owing to some shuffling and double-dealing on the part of Cromwell. But, I confess, I cannot distinctly understand this part of the Major's narrative, so as to make it agree exactly with the more clear and easy account given of the same transaction in Sir John Berkley's Memoirs.

But in the latter part of this narrative, from the beginning of the last paragraph of page 405, to the end of the tract, Major Huntingdon recites very clearly and positively, so many instances of the changes of the Political principles and designs adopted by Cromwell at different times in the course of only the single year 1647, and of his desire to see violent and cruel measures employed against the Citizens of London to reduce them to a compleat subjection to the Army, and of the loose maxims of conduct, both in publick and in private life, that were openly professed by him upon various occasions, and acted-upon when his interest required it, that, whatever might be the nature of his religious opinions, their influence upon him must be allowed to have been insufficient to controul the suggestions of his Ambition and ensure the morality of his conduct in matters relating to the settlement of the Government. For in these he used to declare it to be his opinion, (as Major Huntingdon informs us in page 406 of this volume,) "That it is lawful for a man to pass through any forms of Government for the accomplishing his ends: " And therefore, That either to purge the Houses, and support

" support the remaining party, everlastinglly ; or to put
" a period to them by force ; is very lawful, and suitable
" to the Interest of *honest men*,"

Of the Seventh tract. The next, or Seventh, tract in this Collection is intitled, *Short Memorials of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, written by himself.*

These Memorials were not printed till the year 1699, twenty seven years after the death of their illustrious author, who died in the year 1671, eleven years after the Restoration of king Charles the 2nd; to which happy event he had greatly contributed by assisting General Monk to march with his little Army from Scotland to London; whereby he was enabled to restore the Commonwealth-parliament to their authority, which General Lambert (in imitation of the treacherous and rebellious conduct of Oliver Cromwell in April 1653,) had dissolved by Military force in October, 1659. For, by means of that restoration of the Parliament to their authority, General Monk was enabled, by a series of judicious measures grounded on it, to procure a new and full Parliament to be elected, who speedily and unanimously passed a vote for recalling the king to the throne of his father, with the old and favourite form of English Government by a king and two houses of Parliament.

These Memorials of Lord Fairfax are preceeded by a dedication of them by Mr. Bryan Fairfax, the publisher of them, to Thomas Lord Fairfax, who was the heir of the General's title, at the time of their publication, in the year 1699; in which he gives an account of the reasons that induced him to publish them, and concludes it with

a just encomium on the virtues of their illustrious author.

These Memorials are written in a clear and easy style, and with great simplicity and modesty, so that it seems almost impossible to doubt of the truth of the military actions related in them. But what the noble author seems most anxious to impress upon the minds of his readers, is his utter abhorrence of all the acts of violence that were committed by the Army against the king's person and against the authority of the Parliament ; which acts he imputes to those persons, (that is, Cromwell and Ireton, and their partisans,) who encouraged the Soldiers to elect a Council of *Agitators* to debate on measures of Government in opposition both to their superiour officers of the Army, and to the authority of Parliament. His defence of himself against the charge, or suspicion, of having been a partaker of the guilt of the Army in all these violent proceedings, from the meeting of the Army on Triplow Heath, on the 11th day of June, 1647, when the Army chose the *Agitators*, to the trial and death of the king, is contained in the second part of the Memorials, and extends from page 444, line 11th, beginning with these words : “ *This Mercy was soon clouded with abominable hypocrisy and deceit, &c.* ” to the end of the Tract, in page 451. In these pages he pleads very ably in support of his own innocence of these charges. And I must own I am inclined to find him *not guilty* of them, and rather believe that he did make use of his authority, as General of the Army, to prevent these acts of violence on several occasions, but found it to be insufficient for that purpose.

The

Of the Eighth tract
in the present Col-
lection, or Mr.
Hobbes's History of
the Civil War.

The next, or Eighth, tract in this Collection is a va-
luable work of Mr. Thomas Hobbes, of Malmsbury, the
celebrated English Philosopher, who was born in April,
1588, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and died in the
year 1679, in the 90th year of his age, and therefore
was an eye-witness of most of the transactions of the
two reigns of king James the 1st, and king Charles the
1st, and the following Interregnum of twelve years to
the restoration of king Charles the 2nd, and of the fol-
lowing seventeen or eighteen years of his reign.

This work is of considerable length, extending from
page 457 to page 653, or almost 200 pages of this vo-
lume. He has given it the odd name of *Behemoth*,
which signifies in the Hebrew language an Elephant,
seeming to think that the civil dissensions of such a nu-
merous and powerful people, as the English nation,
might be justly compared to the wild and formidable
motions of that enormous animal when provoked. The
full title of it as follows:—*Behemoth: The History of
the Causes of the Civil Wars of England, and of the
Counsels and Artifices by which they were carried-on,
from the year 1640, to the year 1660. By Thomas
Hobbes, of Malmsbury.*

It is written in a very clear and lively style, and con-
tains a great deal of curious historical matter, concerning
the rise and gradual increase of the Pope's power over
Temporal Princes;—the Prohibition of marriage in Se-
cular Priests;—the doctrine of Transubstantiation;—
the Institution of Auricular Confession to a Priest;—the
Institution of Orders of Preaching Friars;—and the
Institution of Universities and Schools of Disputation;

—(all

—(all which Institutions, he observes, had a tendency to increase the Power of the Pope, and were made for that purpose,) which is set-forth in pages 467, 468, &c. to page 472. And much other interesting matter, concerning the sentiments of the Presbyterian ministers, the Papists, the Independants, and other Sectaries ; the pretensions made by them to Spiritual Power ;—and the nature of Heresies, and the history of them ;—is clearly and justly described in another part of it ; over and above the narration of the several events of the Civil war itself, which I believe to be faithful and exact in point of fact, though with a different judgement of Mr. Hobbes as to the moral merit of the persons concerned in producing them, from that which, I presume, will be formed by many of the readers of this history at this day ; which difference of Judgement between Mr. Hobbes and the present readers of this work will be a necessary consequence from Mr. Hobbes's having entertained two very important opinions concerning the nature of Civil Government in General, and of the Monarchical Government of England in particular, which in the present age are thought, by almost every Englishman who has paid any attention to the subject, to be exceedingly erroneous. For the statement of these two opinions, and what I have to observe concerning them, and concerning this work of Mr. Hobbes in general, I refer the reader to some remarks I have made upon them, which are printed in this volume at the end of this work of Mr. Hobbes, in pages 657, 658, 659, 660, &c.—671.

The next, or Ninth, tract in this Collection is a short Of the Ninth tract in
this Collection.
tract,

tract, published about the 20th of July, 1659, when the Commonwealth-Parliament of England, (which had been forcibly dissolved by Oliver Cromwell on the 20th of April, 1653,) had been restored to it's authority by the Army, on the 7th of May, 1659. It is intitled, *The Interest of England Stated: or a faithful and just Account of the Aims of all Parties now Pretending.* It takes-up only 19 pages of the present volume, beginning in page 675, and ending in page 694. The author's name is not mentioned: but it is generally supposed to have been written by the Rev. Mr. John Fell, who was afterwards the celebrated Dean of Christ-church College in Oxford, and likewise Bishop of Oxford. See the *Biographia Britannica* in the article *John Fell*.

The Author supposes the people of England to be divided into the seven following Parties, to wit, *The Roman-Catholicks, The Royalists, The Presbyterians, The Anabaptists, The Army, The late Protector's party, and the Party of the then subsisting Parliament;* and he sets-forth the aims of these several Parties, and their effects in respect of *themselves, of one another, and of the Publick:* Which he represents as clearly evidencing the unavoidable ruin that must fall upon *all of them* from a longer continuance of their contest: and he finally offers them *an Expedient for the Composure of their respective Differences, and for the security and advantage, not only of every single Interest, but which he confidently asserts to be sufficient to bring the whole Nation, without the least delay, into a solid and lasting State of Peace.* And the Expedient which he proposes to the Nation to effect this most important purpose,

is

is “to recall Charles, prince of Wales, the eldest son of the late king Charles the First, from his long exile, and place him on the throne of his father.”

It is a most able and persuasive discourse, and may well be supposed to have contributed greatly to prepare the minds of the people of England for that great event, which was brought to pass in the following year, 1660, by the prudent and judicious management of General Monk,—the Restoration of the Limited Monarchy of England in the person of King Charles the Second.

The Tenth, and last Tract in this Collection, is Dr. John Price’s History of the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the Crown of England in the year 1660; which put a lasting conclusion to the preceding Civil Wars of England. The title of it is as follows :

The 10th, and last,
Tract in this Collec-
tion.

*The Mystery and Method of His Majesty’s Happy Restoration,
laid-open to public view,*

By JOHN PRICE, D.D.

*One of the Duke of Albemarle’s Chaplains, who was privy to
all the secret Passages and particularities of that glorious
Revolution.*

*London: Printed for John Vade, at the Cock and Sugar-Loaf,
near St. Dunstan’s Church, in Fleet Street, 1680.*

This History of that important Event has been generally considered as the most authentick and exact Account of it that has ever been published, and therefore seems to be well worthy to be re-printed at the

end of this Collection of original Tracts relating to the preceeding Civil Wars in England, written by contemporary Authors; more especially as I believe the copies of it are now grown scarce, not having ever met with any copy of it of a later date than the copy of the year 1680, from which it is here re-printed. It extends (including the Dedication of it to John, Earl of Bath, who was formerly Sir John Greenvile, and a co-adjutor of General Monk in the great work of the Restoration,) from page 697 to page 800, which compleats the whole collection of Tracts now presented to the Publick.

FRANCIS MASERES.

Inner Temple, August 14, 1815.

End of the Preface to this Volume of Political Tracts.

N.B. As this Collection of Tracts seems rather too large to be conveniently bound-up in one Volume, I would recommend it to the purchasers of it to bind it up in two Volumes, calling the first Volume Part 1st, and the second Volume, (which should begin with Mr. Hobbes's Tract, called Behemoth,) Part 2nd.

THE
CAUSES AND BEGINNINGS
OF THE
CIVIL WAR OF ENGLAND.

OF the Parliament of *England*, and beginning of that sad War, which for so many years raged within the bowells of a distressed Kingdom, whosoever will write, though never so briefly, must of necessity premise somewhat touching the causes (according to the state of the affairs and times) of assembling that Parliament.

And, though the condition of *Scotland* and *Ireland* were, during that time, no whit happier, (which, being subject to the same King, were exposed to the same calamity,) our discourse especially shall be of *England*, as the noblest Kingdom, and the Royal seat; from whence the distemper might first arise, and be derived to the rest: and, wonderful it may seem, how great the distemper of that Government was, which engendered so great a disease! how great the malignity of that disease, to which a Parliament was not a sufficient Medicine.

Forty years old was King *Charles*, and fifteen years had he reigned, when this Parliament was called: so long had the Laws been violated, (more than under any King,) the Liberties of the people invaded, and the authority of Parliament, by which Laws and Liberties are supported, trodden under foot; which had, by degrees, much discontented the *English Nation*.

For the King, within the first four years of his Reign, had called three Parliaments, and soon dissolved them all, before they could any-way benefit the Commonwealth,

From the beginning of King Charles's reign in the year 1625, to the Meeting of the Parliament in November, 1640, the Laws and Liberties of the People of England had been continually violated by the King.

wealth, or redress the least grievance of the People. In the second, indeed, he granted and signed the *Petition of Right*; but, suddenly breaking-up that Parliament, he acted the same things, in violation of the Laws, which he had done before. So that it was manifest that the People's Liberties, by the grant of that Petition, were not fortified, but utterly overthrown; and it appeared, that neither the Laws themselves could give protection, nor the King's Faith become a security, to the People. After the dissolution of the third Parliament, men were forbidden by Proclamation, to speak any more of Parliaments. In this interval, the people at home were fleeced by Monopolies, and many ways exacted-upon by illegal taxes. Abroad, scarce any negotiations were made, but such as were destructive to Religion and the Commonwealth. In the beginning of his Reign an unhappy and dishonourable Expedition was made against the Spaniard, to surprise *Cales**; another more sad than that, against the French, in the following year, at the Isle of *Rhee*; but what, of all others, was most destructive to the Protestant Religion, was that King *Charles*, not long before that time, had lent a strong navy to the King of *France* †; by whose force, the Protestant ships through all *France* were vanquished and scattered, and the miserable town of *Rochelle* subdued by Famine, the worst of all Enemies.

The King, in the mean time, by many illegal ways, raised money through *England*: great sums he borrowed of the unwilling people, by privy Scals; and Ship-money, the greatest of all taxes, was levied upon them. Nor was there any remedy left: for the Judges, by altering a clause in their Patents, were enforced to serve the King's will. Though the Kingdom's liberties were thus oppressed, yet

In the year 1637 the King commanded the Scottish nation to adopt a new Publick Liturgy, or Book of Common-Prayer, in their Churches, without their consent.

+ In July, 1625, four months after his accession to the Throne. See a distinct account of this odious measure in Ludlow's Letters, in quarto (that have been lately reprinted,) pages 7 and 8.

astical government, between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. The dignity and pomp of Prelacy had been much of late promoted in *England*: in pursuance whereof many temporal offices and honours were conferred upon persons Ecclesiastical, many Ceremonies and Innovations were brought into the Church, and too near approaches were made in some points of Doctrine to the Romish Church, and a great contempt was thrown upon the other reformed Churches in *Europe*: Popery seemed to be much countenanced in the Court; and, by reason of the Queen's great power with the King, several Nuntios from the Pope, as *Panzani*, *Conn*, and *Rosetti*, had been received with great honour in the Court of *England*.

The King had made great preparations for that work in *Scotland*, and bestowed many temporal offices and dignities upon Bishops in that Kingdom. In particular, eleven of the Scottish Bishops (being in all but 14,) were made privy-Councillors. But this displeased the Scots, to whom Episcopacy itself was not acceptable; and, having been once thrown out of that kingdom, was not restored but by great endeavour and policy of King *James*.

A book of Liturgy was sent by the King into *Scotland* in the year 1637, with an express command, that they should read it publickly in their Churches. The Scots complained, that a thing of so great concernment, having not been allowed by their Church in a National Synod, should be imposed upon them; they complained likewise that it was not the same with the book of *England*, but alterations were made: some of them, (they confessed,) were for the better, but more for the worse: Lastly, they affirmed, that wheresoever that book varies from the *English* Liturgy, it approaches directly to the Roman Missal, and all the parts of Popery are there: but the King seemed to excuse those alterations in his great Declaration. These are his words, (which were not satisfactory to the Scots.)

We, supposing that they might have taken some offence, if we should have tendered them the English Service

Service Book, totidem verbis ; and that some factious spirits would have endeavoured to have misconstrued it as a badge of dependancy of that Church upon this of England, which we had put upon them to the prejudice of their Laws and Liberties ; We held it fitter, that a new Book should be composed by their own Bishops, in substance not differing from that of England, that so the Roman party might not upbraid us with any weighty or material differences in our Liturgies ; and yet in some few insensible alterations differing from that, it might truly and justly be reputed a Book of that Churche's own composing, and established by Our Royal authority, as King of Scotland.

The Scots at Edinburgh resist the reading of the new Common-prayer Book in a tumultuous manner.

This Book of Liturgy was read, as the King commanded, in the great Church at Edinburgh ; but not without a great uproar, in which the Bishop that read it, hardly escaped : the Plebeians first stirred ; but presently after the Nobility and Ministers publickly avowed their detestation of that Book. Some persons therefore were sent to the King, to intreat him that he would recall his command concerning it.

But the King was immoveable, and sent another peremptory command for reading of the Book ; and that all people who came as Petitioners against it, should depart from Edinburgh : which did but increase the number of Petitioners, who intreated the Council once more to send to the King concerning it. In the mean time they much accused their Bishops, as the causes of this Innovation.

The King commanded his Council to receive no more Petitions from them, and sent the Earl of Traquair into Scotland with a Proclamation, which was published at Sterlin, wherein he declared, *That the Bishops were wrongfully accused about the Prayer-Book* ; — that he himself was the Author of it, and all done by his Command : he condemned their proceedings as tumultuous, and denounced the punishment of high Treason to those who persisted.

Against this Proclamation the Lords of the Commission

sion protested ; and so did the Ministers, and others, justifying their assembly to be lawful, as tending to God's glory, the King's honour, and the liberty of the Nation. Immediately after they entered into a Solemn Covenant for defence of their Religion and Liberties : This Covenant was subscribed not only by the Nobles, but all sorts of men ; so that their number within few months amount to many thousands. The King, enraged, did, by many messengers, condemn that Covenant; but the Scots defended it : what was alledged on both sides is more largely expressed in the Book, entitled *Tumultus Scotici*.

The Scots of all ranks enter into a Solemn Covenant for the Defence of their Religion and Liberties.

In June the Marquess *Hamilton*, as Commissioner from the King, came to *Edinburgh*; who in vain dealt with the Covenanters to renounce their Covenant, but published a Proclamation of the King's, wherein he forbears to press the reading that Prayer-book upon them, and resolved to call both a Parliament and Synod. But the Covenanters in their Protestation, declare that the King's grants were not large enough to cure their present distempers, and offer some particular exceptions ; and so great grew the differences, and altercations upon several points, that the Marquess *Hamilton* was enforced that year to make two journeys into *England* to the King, and, at last, by the King's command, called a National Synod ; which accordingly began at *Glasgow*, November 1. But, within seven days, the Marquess dissolved that Synod, alledging for reasons, that they had broken the Laws of a free Synod, both in the manner of their Elections, and in other businesses during their sitting. But they protested against that dissolution, and continued their Synod, after that the Marquess was gone-away ; and proceeded in such Laws and decrees as they judged fit for the present State, after which they dissolved the Synod, and published a declaration from *Edinburgh*, to all sincere and good Christians in *England*, concerning their innocence and intentions.

The King calls a National Synod of the Clergy of Scotland, which meets at Glasgow on the 1st of November, 1638.

The King, after a sharp Proclamation against the Scots, which he commanded to be read in all *English* Churches, raised an Army to subdue them by force, in which the Nobles, and all Gentlemen, his servants, were commanded to attend him at *York* the first of April,

The King raises an English Army to subdue his Scottish Subjects by force ; which is to be assembled at York on the 1st. of April, 1639.

with Horse and Arms suitable to their degree ; the Earl of *Arundel* was made General, and a rich and well-appointed Army at that time and place attended the King.

But the people of *England* in general abhorred that wicked war, as a design to enslave both Nations, and loved the *Scots*, as brethren that were persecuted by the same power which had long oppressed themselves : they likewise hoped that such an occasion might necessitate the King to call a Parliament in *England*, which had been so long wanted there : but the King, while he could make any other shift, (how low soever and dishonourable,) would not endure to think of a Parliament.

**The Covenanted
Lords of Scotland
raise an Army for
their own defence.**

A Pacification takes place between the English and Scottish Armies on the 18th of June, 1639, and both the Armies are disbanded.

The King, some months after, at London, disavows the Pacification, and resolves to make War upon the Scots again.

And, in December 1639, he declares it to be his resolution to call a Parliament in England to meet

The Covenanted Lords of *Scotland* published a Remonstrance in answer to the King's Proclamation, and wisely provided against all invasions that might be made upon them on any side ; they seized the considerable Forts, and disarmed all suspected persons without any great trouble, electing Sir *Alexander Lesly*, an old soldier, for their General, to whom all the Noblemen were content to give obedience ; at which time the King commanded the Parliament of *Scotland* to dissolve, and his command was obeyed.

But the threatened War did not proceed ; it pleased God that, by the happy mediation of some honest Lords of both Nations, and upon a conference granted, a Pacification was made and solemnly declared on the 18th of June 1639, and both Armies were disbanded within eight-and-forty hours. The King granted to the *Scots* a National Synod, to begin upon the 1st of August following, and a Parliament to begin on the 24th day of the same month, so that both sides peaceably retreated home.

But when the King had been but a little time at *London*, his heart was again estranged from the *Scots*, and thoughts of peace ; He commanded, by Proclamation, that Paper which the *Scots* avowed to contain the true conditions of the pacification, to be disavowed, and burnt by the hands of the Hangman ; and the honest people of both Nations began to fear another War. The King, about the beginning of December, told the Lords of his Council, that he intended to call a Parliament in *England*,

England, to begin in *April* following, which being spread among the people, made them almost amazed: so strange a thing was the name of a Parliament grown. But rational men did not like that it should be deferred so long, and that preparations for a War with *Scotland* went-on in the mean time. They were likewise troubled that the Earl of *Strafford*, Deputy of *Ireland*, (a man of deep policy, but suspected honesty, one whom the King then used as a bosom-Counsellor,) was first to go into *Ireland* and call a Parliament in that Kingdom. And besides, the King at that time had broken-up the Parliament in *Scotland*; which the *Scots* complained of, (the business of State in it being still depending,) as a great breach of their Liberties, and against the Laws of that Kingdom.

Upon which they sent some Lords into *England*, to entreat the King to grant them a redress of such injuries as they had received since the Pacification. Which were, that their Parliament was broken-off, before any business done; that *Edinburgh Castle* was garrisoned with far more soldiers than were needful; that *Dun-Briton Castle* was Garrisoned with *English* soldiers; that the *Scots*, that traded in *England* and *Ireland*, were enforced to take new Oaths, contrary to their Covenant, and altogether contrary to the Articles of pacification. The King imprisoned those Lords, sending one of them, the Earl of *Lowden*, to the Tower, and commanded a charge of Treason to be drawn-up against him, concerning a letter which the Scottish Covenanters had written to the King of *France* for his assistance, and which *Lowden* had subscribed. But the accusation was frivolous, easily answered, and came to nothing; because those letters were not sent at all; and, besides, it was before the pacification, by which an oblivion of all things was agreed upon; although the King at the beginning of the English Parliament produced that Letter against them, as a ground of his second War. For now on the thirteenth of *April*, the Parliament of *England* was begun; before which time the Earl of *Strafford* was returned out of *Ireland*, where he had held a Parliament, and gotten four Subsidies.

The King was very urgent with his Parliament to give money

in April 1640; whereby he hoped to be supplied with Money to carry-on the the new War against Scotland.

The English Parliament meets at Westminster on the 13th of April, 1640.

money to enable him for a War against *Scotland*, and pay that Army and Officers which he had already raised ; he demanded twelve Subsidies of them, for which he promised to release Ship-money ; he promised them that he would afterwards redress the Kingdom's grievances, but desired money in the first place to go-on with his designed War.

It was answered by many Members of the House in several Speeches, that redress of Grievances was the chief end of Parliaments, and should go before Subsidies :— That the King asked a great sum of money for releasing of that which he had no title to hold, but had taken illegally by power.—That the people had no reason to pay for a War which they desired not, but abhorred ; a War, not for their good, but for their own ruin ; and that nothing was so just as to punish the contrivers of that wicked war.

But so strange was the obedience and compliance of that Parliament towards the King, that, although the money which he asked-for was against themselves, yet they took the Subsidies into consideration. But, while they were debating, the King, (whatsoever his reasons were, whether he thought it a delay or not,) came into the House on the 5th of *May*, and dissolved the Parliament. The people were grieved in an extraordinary manner to see this Parliament so suddenly broken-up, and as much, to see the King break his word so immediately upon the dissolution of it : for he protested in the House at that time, that he would rule, for the future, as legally as if a Parliament were constantly sitting ; Yet, nevertheless, he imprisoned some Members the very next day after, Mr. *Belosis*, Sir *John Hotham*, and Mr. *Crew* ; he commanded the Lord *Brooks* his Study, his Cabinet, and pockets, to be searched for letters. He commanded the Convocation of Divines to continue their sitting, (an unexampled thing,) who, by authority from him, made Canons, and imposed Oaths upon the people, contrary to their Laws and Liberties.

The King, to defray the charges of this War, besides the Contribution of the Clergy and Papists, issued-out again Writs of Ship-money in a greater proportion than before ;

But the King dissolves it suddenly on the 5th of May, 1640.

before ; he seized the Bullion in the Tower, and took up commodities to be sold again at an under-rate ; and consulted about coining of brass money ; but that went not forward.

But the War went-on ; the Earl of *Strafford* commanding in chief, the Earl of *Northumberland* not being in health, who had been appointed General. But the Scots had not been backward : for, having been debarred of their trade, and lost their ships by seizure, they entered into *England* with an Army, expressing their intentions in writing to the English People, and bringing with them a Petition to the King.

But the King in this War found a greater want than that of money : which was that of the hearts of the soldiers ; especially of the common soldiers, who could not be easily brought to engage against the Scots, as hating the cause ; many of them mutinying against their officers and commanders ; which might be one cause that the war proved not so bloody and fatal as it was designed to be. Some skirmishes, but not very considerable, happened at *Newburn*, and at *Dunsian*, not far from *Berwick*.

Thus proceeded this unhappy business, until some English Peers, Earls, and Barons, about twenty, grieved at the dishonour which *England* suffered by the unhappy actions of the King, made a Petition to him, declaring in some part their former sufferings by illegal Government, the dissolution of the last and other Parliaments, the miserable condition of the Kingdom at present, the sad consequence of this wicked war ; desiring him to summon a Parliament, within some convenient time, where the Kingdom's grievances may be redressed, this War composed, and the authors of these wicked counsels punished.

Upon this Petition, the King caused all the Lords to meet at *York* on the 24th of *September*, and there told them his intention of calling a Parliament with all possible speed ; which was to begin on the 3rd of *November*.

It was there also consulted and debated, how to end this War upon fair terms, and after some time spent between Lords chosen out of both Nations, the matter was composed according to these Articles.

The King renews
the War against the
Scots.

The Scots enter
England with an Ar-
my.

Several of the most
powerful English
Peers petition the
King to call another
Parliament.

The King holds an
Assembly of all the
Lords at York on the
23rd of September,
1640.

An Armistice is a-
greed-upon between
the Scottish and En-
glish Armies.

1. A Truce or cessation of Arms was made for two months till the 16th of December.
2. That 850*l.* a day should be paid to the Scots during that Truce.
3. That if it were not paid, the Scots might force it from the Counties of *Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham.*
4. That those Counties should be allowed the Scots for their Winter-quarters.
5. No new preparations for War to be made.
6. That private injuries should not break the Truce, so satisfaction were made upon complaint.
7. That Merchants might freely traffic in either Kingdoms, without letters of safe-conduct; but soldiers without leave might not pass their limits.

Thus was the state of things altered, and that War, which was intended for an enslavement of both Nations, became the bond of concord between them, and the happy cause which necessitated the King to call a Parliament in *England*; whereby their just liberties might, by the blessing of God, be vindicated, and more ascertained for the future; great was the expectation of this English Parliament, on which the hopes of the people were wholly fixed, as a certain cure of all their long sufferings; to which they thought the King, (having so much transgressed,) could not deny any thing, or make the least opposition.

That was the cause for which they extremely loved the Scots, as the instruments of that happiness to them, who, by resisting the King's intrusions upon themselves, had enforced him to this visible means of a cure for *England*, which made the King more hate the Scots, as the stoppers of his general design; which hatred he could not conceal in his first Speech that he made in this Parliament; in which, promising all favour and concurrence to any thing that might procure the happiness of *England*, and promising to put himself freely and wholly upon the love and affections of his English subjects in this Parliament, he inveighed against the Scots as Rebels, and desired that by force of Arms they might be chased out of *England*; but the English Parliament

**The King consents
to call another Par-
liament in England.**

**A new Parliament
meets at Westmin-
ster on the 3rd of
November, 1640.**

liament was of another affection towards the Scots, as will appear more hereafter.

The Parliament showed a great and wonderful respect to the King, and in many expressions gave him humble thanks for calling them together, without any reflection upon his person for what had passed in former mis-government; but, since no cure could be made without searching wounds, and that grievances must be recited, they resolved so to name them, as to cast the envy of them upon evil Counsel, and still mention the King with all honour and reverence possible, as will appear to any that read the printed Speeches, which at the beginning of that Session were made in the House by men of Eminency.

Great was the business, and of various natures, were the crimes which this Parliament were to examine, and find out delinquents, whom so long a mis-government had made so.

Many Committees were made by the House to ease them in this business; they began with matters of Religion. Divers Ministers who had been of good lives and conversations, conscientious in their ways, and diligent in preaching, and had by the Bishops, and those in authority, been molested, deprived, or imprisoned for not conforming to some ceremonies which were imposed on them, were now by the Parliament relieved, and compensated for their sufferings. Others, on the contrary, that had been scandalous, either for loose and wicked living, or else offenders in way of superstition, (both which, to discountenance the Puritans, had been frequently preferred,) were censured and removed.

The Earl of Strafford, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was impeached of High Treason, and sent prisoner to the Tower of *London*; and on the 18th day of *December*, William Laud, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, impeached of the same crime, was committed to the same custody.

The next day after, the Archbishop was impeached, Dr. Wren, Bishop of *Norwich*, was accused of many misdemeanours, in matter of superstition, in his Ecclesiastical Government; which tending to the detriment of the Civil State, he was also accused of Treason, and entered

The Earl of Strafford
and Archbishop
Laud are impeached
of High Treason.

Proceedings against
Dr. Wren, Bishop of
Norwich.

And against Sir Francis Windebank.

entered into a recognisance of thirty thousand pounds to appear, with three sureties bound each of them in obligations of ten thousand pounds. Sir *Francis Windebank*, principal Secretary of State, a man nearly in friendship with *Land* the Archbishop, who was thought to be a means of his preferment, was about that time accused of extraordinary connivance toward Popish Priests, or rather of favour to them ; and that, contrary to the Laws in force against them, he had bailed and released a great number ; a Committee was appointed to examine his offence, but he, conscious of the crime, objected, and fearing the consequence, about the beginning of *December*, fled in a disguise, and went into *France*. Immediately after his flight, the Lord Keeper *Finch* was constrained to take the same course, and fled out of the Kingdom into *Holland* ; the crimes objected against him were of a various nature.

The first committed when he was Speaker of Parliament in the House of Commons, in the fourth year of King *Charles* ; which was, for that he disobeyed the house, in refusing to speak when he was commanded by them.

2. The second crime was for giving illegal and cruel judgments in the Forest business, when he was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

3. The third was for threatening of some of the Judges at that time, to give their extrajudicial opinions for Ship-money.

The last was, for drawing an injurious Declaration, after the dissolution of the last Parliament ; for which offences he was voted by the House of Commons guilty of High Treason ; a Charge drawn-up against him, and carried-up to the Lords upon the 14th of *January*, three weeks after his flight. Upon the 15th of *February*, 1640, a Bill for the Triennial Parliament was presented to the King, and by him signed ; which Bill was in this nature, that the Lord Keeper, and Chancellor of the Dutchy, if the King did not at those times, should issue forth Writs every third year, for calling of the Parliament, and the Penalty of losing their places upon default, was imposed on them :— which Act being of such great importance

A Bill is passed for securing a meeting of Parliament at least once in every Three Years, February 15, 1640-41.

portance to the security of the peoples Liberties by Parliaments; take the substance thereof as followeth.

“ Be it Enacted, that in case there be not a Parliament summoned by Writ under the Great Seal of England, and assembled and held before the tenth day of September, which shall be in the third year next after the last day of the last meeting and sitting in this present Parliament, the beginning of the first year to be accompted from the said last day of the last meeting and sitting in Parliament, and so from time to time, and in all times hereafter, if there shall not be a Parliament assembled and held before the tenth day of September, which shall be in the third year next after the last day of the last meeting and sitting in Parliament before that time assembled and held; the beginning of the first year to be accounted from the said last day of the last meeting and sitting in Parliament: That then in every such case as aforesaid, the Parliament shall assemble and be held in the usual place at Westminster, in such manner, and by such means only as is hereafter in this present act declared and enacted, and not otherwise, on the second Monday which shall be in the month of November then next ensuing. And the Lord Chancellor of England, and the Lord-keeper of the Great Seal of England, and every Commissioner and Commissioners for the keeping of the Great Seal of England for the time being, shall, within six days after the said tenth day of September, in every such third year as aforesaid, in due form of Law, and without any further Warrant or Direction from his Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, Seal, issue-forth, and send-abroad, several and respective Writs to the several and respective Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of England and Wales, and to the Constable of the Castle of Dover, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, or his Lieutenant for the time being, and to the Major and Bailiffs of Barwick-upon-Tweed, and to all and every other Officers and Persons to whom Writs have used to be directed, for the electing of the Knights, Citizens, Barons, and Burgesses, of, and for the said Counties, Cities, Cinque-ports, and Boroughs of England and Wales, respectively, in the the accustomed form, to appear and serve in a Parliament to be held at Westminster on the said Monday, which shall be in November aforesaid; which said Knights, Citizens, Barons, and Burgesses chosen by vertue of the said Writs, shall then and there appear and serve in Parliament accordingly. And the said Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Commissioner and Commissioners aforesaid, shall respectively take a solemn

The substance of the
said Bill,

“ solemn Oath upon the holy Evangelist for the due issuing
“ of Writs, according to the tenor of this Act, viz. in
“ *hæc verba.*

“ You shall Swear, that you shall truly and faithfully issue-
“ forth and send-abroad all Writs of Summons to Parliament
“ for both Houses, at such time and in such manner as is
“ expressed and enjoined by an Act of Parliament intituled,
“ *An Act for the preventing of inconveniencies happening by*
“ *the long intermission of Parliament?*

“ Which Oath is forthwith to be taken by the present
“ Lord Keeper, and to be administered by the Clerk of the
“ Crown to every Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Commis-
“ sioner and Commissioners aforesaid; and that none of the
“ said Officers shall henceforth execute any the said Offices
“ before they have taken the said Oath. And, if the said
“ Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or any the said Commis-
“ sioners shall fail, or forbear, so to issue-out the said Writs,
“ according to the true meaning of this Act, then he, or they,
“ respectively, shall, beside the incurring of the grievous sin
“ of perjury, be disabled, and become, by virtue of this Act,
“ incapable, *ipso facto*, to bear his and their said Offices
“ respectively, and be further liable to such punishments as
“ shall be inflicted on him or them by the next, or any other
“ ensuing, Parliament.

“ And in case they neglect, then the Peers of this Realm
“ shall, by virtue of this Act, be enabled, and are enjoined, to
“ meet in the old Palace of Westminster, in the usual place
“ there, on the third Monday in the said Month of November;
“ and they, or any twelve, or more, of them, then and there
“ assembled, shall, on or before the last Monday of Novem-
“ ber, next following the tenth day of September aforesaid,
“ by virtue of this Act, without other Warrant, issue-out
“ Writs in the usual form, in the name of the King’s Majes-
“ ty, His Heirs, or Successors, attested under the hands and
“ seals of twelve, or more, of the said Peers, to the several
“ and respective Sheriffs of the several and respective coun-
“ ties, for the electing of the Knights, Citizens, Barons,
“ and Burgesses, to be and appear at the Parliament at West-
“ minster aforesaid, to be held on the third Monday in Ja-
“ nuary then next following: And in case the said Lords,
“ or twelve or more of them, shall fail to issue-forth such
“ Writs, or that the said Writs do not come to the said
“ several counties, cities, cinque-ports, and boroughs, so
“ that an election be not thereupon made; and in case there
“ be not a Parliament assembled and held before the three
“ and twentieth day of the said Month of January; then, in
“ every such case as aforesaid, the Parliament shall assemble,
“ and

" and be held in the usual place at Westminster on the second Tuesday which shall be in the month of March next after the said three and twentieth day of January : At which Parliament the Peers of this Realm shall make their appearance.

" And for the better assembling of the Knights, Citizens, Barons, and Burgesses to the said Parliament, as aforesaid : It is further Enacted, that the several and respective Sheriffs of their several and respective counties, cities, and boroughs of England and Wales, and the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of both and every of the Universities, and the Major and Bailiffs of the Borough of Barwick upon Tweed, shall, at the several courts, and places to be held and appointed for their respective counties, universities, cities, and boroughs, next after the said three and twentieth day of January, cause such Knight and Knights, Citizen and Citizens, Burgess and Burgesses, of their said counties, universities, cities, and boroughs respectively, to be chosen by such persons, and in such manner, as if several and respective Writs of summons to Parliament under the Great Seal of England, had issued and been awarded. And in case they do not before ten of the clock in the forenoon of the same day, wherein the several and respective courts and places shall be held or appointed, for their several and respective counties, universities, cities, and boroughs as aforesaid, begin and proceed-on according to the meaning of this Law, in causing Elections to be made of such Knight and Knights, Citizen and Citizens, Burgess and Burgesses, of their said counties, Universities, cities, and boroughs, as aforesaid ; then the Freeholders of each county, and the Masters and Scholars of every of the Universities, and the citizens, and others having voices in such Election respectively, in each University, city, and borough, that shall be assembled at the said courts, or places, to be held, or appointed, as aforesaid, shall forthwith, without further Warrant, or direction, proceed to the Election of such Knight, &c.

" And it is further enacted, that the several and respective Sheriffs shall, after the said three and twentieth day of January, and before the eighth day of February, then immediately next ensuing, award and send-forth their Preceps to the several and respective cities and boroughs, within their several counties, and likewise unto the said Cinque-ports respectively, commanding them respectively to make choice of such Citizen and Citizens, Barons, Burgess and Burgesses, to serve in the said Parliament, at the time and place aforesaid : Which said cities, cinque-ports, and bo-

" roughs respectively, shall before the last day of the said
" month of February, make election of such citizen and ci-
" tizens, barons, burgess or burgesses, as if Writs for sum-
" moning of a Parliament under the Great Seal of England,
" had issued and been awarded. And in case no such pre-
" cept shall come unto the said cities, cinque-ports, and
" boroughs respectively, by the time herein limited; or in
" case any precept shall come, and no election be made there-
" upon before the said last day of February, that then the
" several citizens, burgesses, and other persons that ought
" to elect and send citizens, barons, and burgesses to the
" Parliament, shall, on the first Tuesday in March, then next
" ensuing the said last day of February, make choice of such
" citizen and citizens, barons, burgess and burgesses, as if a
" Writ of Summons, under the Great Seal of England, had
" issued and been awarded; and shall, each of them, be liable
" unto such pains and censures, for his and their not ap-
" pearing and serving then and there in Parliament, as if he,
" or they, had been elected and chosen by virtue of a Writ
" under the Great Seal of England; and shall be likewise subject
" unto such further pains and censures, as by the rest of the
" Knights, citizens, and burgesses assembled in the Com-
" mons House of Parliament, &c. And the Sheriffs and other
" Officers and Persons to whom it appertaineth, shall make
" returns, and accept and receive the returns of such elections
" in like manner as if Writs of Summons had issued, and
" been executed as hath been used and accustomed. And
" on default of the Sheriffs and other Officers respectively in
" not accepting, or making return of such elections, it shall
" and may be lawful, to and for the several Freeholders and
" other persons that have elected, to make returns of the
" Knights, &c. which shall be as good and effectual to all in-
" tents and purposes, as if the Sheriff or other Officers, had
" received a Writ of summons for a Parliament, and had
" made such returns; any Writ, &c. to the contrary not-
"withstanding. And in case any person shall be so hardy
" as to advise, or put in execution, any such Writs, &c. then
" he, or they, so offending shall incur the penalties contained
" in the Statute of Premunire, made in the 16th year of Rich-
" ard the 2d. and be deprived of the benefit of the Law in
" any case, &c.

" And if any Sheriff, Constable of the Castle of Dover, or
" Lord-Warden of the Cinque-ports, shall not perform his
" duty enjoined by this Act, then he shall lose and forfeit
" the sum of one thousand pounds; and every county, city,
" cinque-ports, and borough, that shall not make election
" of their knights, citizens, barons, and burgesses, respec-
" tively

"tively, shall incur the penalties following (that is to say)
"every County the sum of one thousand pounds, and every
"City which is no County, two hundred pounds, and every
"cinque-port and borough the sum of one hundred pounds.
"All and every of which several forfeitures, and all other
"forfeitures in this Act mentioned, shall and may be recov-
"ered in any of the King's Courts of Record at Westmin-
"ster, by and in the name of the Lord Major of the City of
"London for the time being, by action of Debt, Bill, Plaintiff,
" &c. wherein no Essoin, Protection, &c. shall be in any
"wise prayed, granted, or allowed.

"And, if any person, after notice given, that the Action
"depending is grounded, or prosecuted, upon or by virtue of
"this Statute, shall cause or procure any such Action to be
"staid or delayed before judgement, that then the said per-
"sons so offending shall incur and sustain all and every the
"pains, penalties, and forfeitures as aforesaid.

"The fifth part of all and every the forfeitures in this Act
"mentioned, shall go and be to and for the use and behoof
"of the City of London; and the other four parts and resi-
"due to be employed and disposed to and for such only
"uses, intents, and purposes, as by the Knights, Citizens,
"and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled, shall be declared
"and appointed.

"And be it further enacted, that the said Knights, Citi-
"zens, and Burgesses, to be assembled at any Parliament,
"by virtue of this Act, shall and may, from time to time,
"at any time during such their assembly in Parliament,
"choose and declare one of themselves to be Speaker for the
"said Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of
"Commons, assembled in the said Parliament, as they shall
"think fit.

"And it is further enacted, that all Parliaments hereafter
"to be assembled by authority of this Act, and every Mem-
"ber thereof, shall have and enjoy all Rights, Priviledges,
"Jurisdictions, and Immunities, as any Parliament sum-
"moned by Writ under the great Seal of England, or any
"Member thereof might, or ought to have, and shall have
"voices in such Parliament, before, and without the taking
"of the several Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, or
"either of them; any Law or Statute to the contrary thereof
"in any wise notwithstanding *.

For

* This Act, (which was intitled, "An Act for the preventing
"of Inconveniences happening by the long Intermission of Par-
"liaments,") was repealed by the second Parliament of King
Charles the 2nd, (which is sometimes called his Pensioner Parlia-
ment)

The Parliament returns thanks to the King, for passing the said Bill. February 15, 1640-41.

For signing of this Bill, thanks were given to the King at *Whitehall* the same afternoon by both Houses of Parliament.

By

ment) in the month of March, A. D. 1664, by an Act which is in these words :

“ An Act for the Assembling and Holding of Parliaments once in three Years at the least ; and for the Repeal of an Act, intituled, *An Act for the preventing of Inconveniences happening by the long Intermission of Parliaments*.

“ WHEREAS the Act made in the Parliament begun at *Westminster* the third Day of November, in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of our late Sovereign Lord, King *Charles*, of blessed Memory, intituled, *An Act for the preventing of Inconveniences happening by the long Intermission of Parliaments*, is in Derogation of his Majesty’s just Rights and Prerogative, inherent to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, for the Calling and Assembling of Parliaments, and may be an Occasion of manifold Mischiefs and Inconveniences, and much endanger the Peace and Safety of his Majesty, and all his Liege People of this Realm :

“ II. Be it therefore Enacted by the King’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the said Act, intituled, *An Act for the preventing of Inconveniences happening by the long Intermission of Parliaments*, and all and every the Articles, Clauses and Things therein contained, is, shall be, and are hereby wholly repealed, annulled, and utterly made void, and are hereby declared to be null and void to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever, as if the said Act had never been had or made, any Thing in the said Act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

“ III. And because, by the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made in the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, Parliaments are to be held very often ; your Majesty’s humble and loyal Subjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, most humbly do beseech your most excellent Majesty, That it may be declared and enacted ; (2) And be it declared and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That hereafter the Sitting and Holding of Parliaments shall not be intermitted or discontinued above three Years at the most ; (3) but that within three Years from and after the Determination of this present Parliament, and so from Time to Time within three Years after the Determination of any other Parliament or Parliaments, or, if there be Occasion, more often, your Majesty, your Heirs and Successors, do issue out your Writs for calling,

By this time, being the end of *December*, that cessation of Arms which was spoken of before, between the English

The Parliament renews the cessation of arms, between the Scotch and English Armies, and speaks of the Scots with kindness as their brethren.

" calling, assembling and holding of another Parliament, to the end
" that there may be a frequent Calling, Assembling and Holding of
" Parliaments once in three Years at the least.

By this repealing Act it appears that this complaisant Parliament of Charles the Second, agreed with the more vigorous Parliament of Charles the First, in the year 1640-41, in declaring that the intermission of Parliaments ought never to continue for more than three Years, and that they only disapproved of those strong clauses in the former Act, which provided effectual measures for preventing such long intermissions. But in the latter part of the reign of King Charles the Second, the Nation had reason to lament the abolition of their right to have resort to those effectual measures. For, after the Dissolution of his last Parliament on the 28th day of March, 1681, the King governed without a Parliament for more than three Years, and to the day of his Death in February 1684-85; in violation of what he had promised, and bound himself to do by giving his assent to this latter, inefficient, Act of Parliament.

And, perhaps, it would have been better still than to pass either of these Acts, for preventing intermissions of Parliament for more than three years, to have revived and enforced the good old Statute of the 36th year of the great King Edward the Third, for having a new Parliament once in every year, or more often, if need be, and to have enacted that the elections should take place of course, or without any Writ from the King, on a certain fixed day, (as, for example, on the 1st day of October in every year, unless when that day was on a Sunday, and, in that case, on the following day, or the 2nd of October;) and that the Parliament should meet on another fixed day, at a proper distance from the former, as, for example, on the 17th day of November, (which was the birth-day of that great Princess, Queen Elizabeth, who governed England for more than forty years, so wisely and so happily, and in such harmony with her Parliaments,) unless that day was a Sunday, and, in that case, on the following day, or the 18th of November. For, by thus appointing the Parliament to be chosen, and to meet on certain, known, or fixed, days of the year, the Parliament would appear to be as essential and necessary a part of the Government of the Nation, as the King himself, or as the King's Courts of Justice, which do meet on certain fixed, or known, days of the year.

But, if the King, after having conferred upon Publick affairs with one Parliament who had thus met on the usual day appointed by Law for their meeting, should dismiss, or dissolve, the said Parliament, after having gone through all the business that was to be done in it, and

English and Scotch Armies, was expired, and by the Parliament now renewed for a month longer; for the Parliament, although the King (as it is said before) called them Rebels, and desired to have them driven out of *England*, had a better opinion of them, and, at this time of renewing the Cessation, ordered that the Scots should be recompenced for all their charges and losses by that mischievous war which the King had raised against them; and within few days, after examination of those losses and charges, the Parliament ordered that the Scottish Ships, taken since that war, should be restored to them, and 4000*l.* in money given them to rig those ships; it was further resolved by both Houses, that the full sum of 300,000*l.* should be given to them in these words,

should, afterwards, upon some sudden emergency that had not been foreseen, find it necessary to confer with a Parliament again for the settlement of such new business, in the course of the same year in which he had conferred with his former, or ordinary, Parliament, he should then issue his Writs under the Great Seal, to the Sheriffs of the several counties, and other proper Officers of the Executive Government, to cause the people in their several Districts to elect the members of such new House of Commons, to meet the King at such day, at the distance of a month from the day of Election, as his Majesty should therein have appointed.

For it appears from the Records of Parliament that have been examined by *Sir Robert Cotton*, and the learned *Mr. Prynne* and *Mr. Brown Willis*, and *Dr. Brady*, and other curious and laborious Antiquaries, that in the old reigns of King Edward the 1st, (in the 23d year of whose reign; A. D. 1295, the House of Commons was first established,) and his three immediate successors, Edward the 2nd. Edward the 3d, and Richard the 2nd, all the Houses of Commons that met to transact publick business with the King, were assembled by so many separate Writs of summons, or election, and none of them was *prorogued* (as it is now expressed) by the king's authority, or appointed by him to meet him again for the transaction of publick business on a future distant day. This practice of proroguing a Parliament to a distant day at the end of several weeks, and even months, without a re-election, (as the learned and patriotick *Mr. Granville Sharp* informs us in his tract upon annual Parliaments,) seems to have been begun in the reign of king Edward the 4th, after the people had been so cruelly harrassed by the civil war between the two houses of York and Lancaster, that they had no spirit, or (perhaps) power, left to oppose that dangerous usurpation of their parliamentary rights by the royal Prerogative. But it was afterwards frequently resorted-to by the Princes of the *Tudor* family, and by their successors the *Stuarts*, and has continued to the present day.

Towards

Towards a supply of the losses and necessities of our brethren of Scotland ; and that the Parliament would, in due time, take into consideration the manner of raising, &c. and days of Payment: for which, three days after, the Scottish Commissioners, then resident at London, gave thanks to the Parliament, not only for that great sum of 300,000!. but for the style of Brethren, which so kindly they had used towards them.

The Parliament of England, as a further strengthening of the Nation's amity, ordained at that time, *That all Books, Libels, and Proclamations against the Scots, should be called-in; and a thanksgiving to God should be in all Churches of England for that happy Peace.*

The payment of two Armies for so long a time was a great charge to the poor people of England; which they, (without any grudging or repining at the King, as having been the cause of that great burthen,) in hope to gain time for the future, bore with exceeding patience; they willingly parted with six Subsidies, and were content with the taxation of Poll-money, a personal assessment of the whole kingdom, wherein every Duke was assessed at one hundred pounds; a Marquis, at eighty pounds; Earls, at sixty pounds; Viscounts and Barons, at forty pounds; Knights of the Bath, at thirty pounds; other Knights, at twenty pounds; Esquires, at ten pounds; men of one hundred pounds *per annum*, at five; every common head at six-pence *.

The Parliament grants six Subsidies and a Poll-tax, towards the maintenance of the English and Scottish Armies in the North of England.

The

* By means of this Poll-tax, we may form a tolerable conjecture concerning the quantity of freehold land, that, in the year 1641, was thought sufficient to make the possessor of it, (more especially, if he had inherited it from his ancestors,) be denominated an Esquire.

For it seems reasonable to suppose that the Poll-taxes imposed upon an Esquire and a lesser holder of freehold land, were made proportional, or nearly so, to the yearly incomes they derived from their several landed possessions; and consequently, as the Poll-tax of ten pounds paid by the Esquire, was double of the Poll-tax of five pounds paid by the freeholder of an estate of 100 pounds a year, we may conclude that the estate of the Esquire was an estate of 200 pounds a year. Now, if we suppose the price of wheat in the year 1760, or at the accession of his present Majesty

The King gives his
oldest daughter Mary
in marriage to Prince
William of Nassau,
the son of Henry,
Prince of Orange,
May 2, 1641.

The King, in *February*, had declared to the Houses his intention concerning a marriage for his eldest daughter, the Princess *Mary*, who was then betwixt nine and ten years of age ; the husband appointed for her, was the young Prince *William of Nassau*, son to *Henry Prince of Orange*, a youth about sixteen years of age. The matter was then in agitation, and fair propositions made upon it to the King, by the Ambassadors of the States General. The Parliament were pleased with the marriage; and, not long after, the young Prince arrived in *England*, and was, by the King and Queen, with all the Court, joyfully received and entertained at *London*. And, after a convenient time spent in the *English* Court, he was, upon the second day of *May*, with great solemnity, married at *Whitehall*, to the Princess *Mary*.

The trial of the Earl
of Strafford.

The crimes laid to
his charge.

On the tenth day of *May*, *Thomas, Earl of Strafford*, who had been committed to the Tower six months before, was beheaded. Of this man, of the crimes laid to his charge, as likewise of his pompous and remarkable trial, we cannot but make some mention. About the end of *January*, a charge was read against him in the House of Commons, consisting of nine Articles ; out of which, by subdivision, were branched many more, which (though too tedious to be verbally here set-down) I shall deliver, by expressing the contents. He was accused for ruling *Ireland* and the North of *England* in an arbitrary way, against the Laws. For retaining the King's reve-

King George the 3d to the Throne, to have been 5 shillings a bushell, and to have been only 2 shillings and 6 pence a bushell in the year 1641, the sum of 200 pounds would have bought eight times 200 bushells of wheat, or 1600 bushells of wheat, in the year 1641 ; and in the year 1760, it would have bought only four times 200 bushells of corn, or 800 bushells of corn ; and the sum of 400 pounds would have then been required for the purchase of 1600 bushells. Therefore an income of 200 pounds a year, in the year 1641, would be equal in value to an income of 400 pounds a year in the year 1760. Therefore we may conclude, that the quantity of freehold land that would have intitled its owner to be considered as an Esquire, in the year 1641, was such as would have been sufficient to buy at that time 1600 bushells of wheat, and would have produced a rent of 200 pounds a year, but in the year 1760, would have produced a rent of 400 pounds, or, perhaps, 500 pounds a year.

nue without account. For encreasing and encouraging Popery. For maliciously striving to stir-up, and continue enmity betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; of which, some particulars are expressed. For labouring to subvert Parliaments, and incense the King against them.

Upon which occasion, Mr. Pym, a Member of the House of Commons, in his Speech and Declaration to the

Mr. Pym's speech
against him.

Lords, shewing the quality of the offence, spake as followeth. " It is an offence comprehending all other offences, in that he governed contrary to Law: the Law is " that which puts a difference between good and evil.

" It is the Law that doth intitle the King to the Allegiance and service of his people; it intitles the people " to the protection and justice of the King. It is God " alone who subsists by himself; all other things subsist " in a mutual dependence and relation. He was a wise " man that said, that the King subsisted by the field " that is tilled: it is the labour of the people that supports the Crown: If you take-away the protection of " the King, the vigour and cheerfulness of Allegiance " will be taken-away, though the obligation remain.

" The Law is the Boundary, the Measure betwixt the " King's Prerogative and the People's Liberty: Whiles " these move in their own Orb, they are a support " and security to one another; the Prerogative is a cover " and defence to the Liberty of the people: and the people by their Liberty are enabled to be a foundation to " the Prerogative. But, if these bounds be so removed, " that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of " these mischiefs must needs ensue: If the Prerogative of " the King overwhelm the Liberty of the People, it will " be turned into Tyranny; If Liberty undermine the " Prerogative, it will grow into Anarchy.

" The Law is the safeguard, the custody of all private " interest: Your Honors, your Lives, your Liberties " and Estates, are all in the keeping of the Law; without " this, every man hath a like right to any thing; and " this is the condition into which the Irish were brought " by the Earl of Strafford: and the reason which he gave " for it, hath more mischief in it than the thing itself, " **THEY WERE A CONQUERED NATION.** There " cannot

“ cannot be a word more pregnant and fruitful in Treason,
 “ than that word is: There are few Nations in the world
 “ that have not been Conquered; and no doubt but the
 “ Conqueror may give what Laws he please to those that
 “ are Conquered: But, if the succeeding Pacts and Agree-
 “ ments do not limit and restrain that right, what people
 “ can be secure? England hath been Conquered, and
 “ Wales hath been Conquered; and by this reason will be
 “ in little better case than Ireland. If the King, by the
 “ Right of a Conqueror, gives Laws to his people; shall not
 “ the people by the same reason be restored to the right
 “ of the Conquered, to recover their Liberty if they can?
 “ What can be more hurtful, more pernicious to both,
 “ than such Propositions as these?

A little after: “ Such *arbitrary* power is inconsistent
 “ with the peace, the wealth, the prosperity of a Nation;
 “ to industry, to valour, &c. For who will take pains
 “ for that which, when he hath gotten it, is not his own?
 “ Or, who will fight for that wherein he hath no other
 “ interest, but such as is subject to the will of another?
 “ The ancient encouragement for men to defend their
 “ Countries, was this, “ that they were to hazard their
 “ persons in defence of their Religion and their Houses;”
 “ but, by such *arbitrary* ways as were practised in *Ireland*
 “ and counselled here, no man had any certainty of ei-
 “ ther, or of any thing else, &c. Such *arbitrary* courses
 “ have an ill operation on the courage of a Nation, by em-
 “ basing the hearts of the people; a servile condition
 “ doth beget in men a slave’s temper and disposition.
 “ Shall it be Treason to embase the King’s Coyn, though
 “ but a piece of silver? and must it not needs be the
 “ effect of a greater Treason, to embase the spirits of
 “ his Subjects? &c.

A little further: “ As it is a Crime odious in the na-
 “ ture of it, so it is odious in the judgement and esti-
 “ mation of the Law; to alter the settled frame and
 “ constitution of government, is Treason in any Estate:
 “ the Laws, whereby all other parts of a Kingdom are
 “ preserved, should be very vain and defective, if they
 “ had not a power to secure and preserve themselves.

“ The forfeitures inflicted for Treason by our Law, are
 “ those

“ those of Life, Honour, and Estate, even all that can be
“ forfeited: and this prisoner, having committed so
“ many Treasons, although he should pay all these for-
“ feitures, will be still a Debtor to the Commonwealth:
“ Nothing can be more equal, than that he should perish
“ by the Justice of that Law which he had attempted
“ to subvert. Neither will this be a new way of blood:
“ There are marks enough to trace this Law to the very
“ original of this Kingdom: And, if it hath not been put
“ in execution, as he alledgedeth, for these 240 years, it was
“ not for want of such a Law, but because all that long course
“ of time hath not bred a man bold enough to commit
“ such Crimes as these; which is a circumstance much
“ aggravating his offence, and making him no whit less
“ liable to punishment, because he is the only man that in
“ so long a time hath ventured upon such a Treason as
“ this.”

The Commissioners of *Scotland*, then resident at *London*, had a charge also against this Earl, for matters done against their Nation; which were, notwithstanding, implied in the Parliament's Charge. To this Charge, the Earl gave in his answer in the House of Lords, where the King himself was present at the reading of it, upon the 23d day of *February*; but the trial in *Westminster Hall* began on the 22d day of *March* following, and was a most memorable sight. The Hall was Scaffolded on both sides, to contain the whole House of Commons, sitting there in a Committee; the Peers sat all there; besides the Commissioners from *Scotland*, and besides other spectators and auditors, and a great number of the Lords of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Arundel* was Lord High Steward, and the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord High Constable: the King himself sat privately in a close Gallery every day, taking Notes in writing of what passed in the tryal. Fifteen days the Earl answered personally, from the 22d of *March*, with few days intermission, till the 16th of *April*. Misdemeanors in a high degree were proved against him; but that which the Earl laboured to maintain for himself, was, that Misdemeanors, though never so many and great, could not, by being put-together, make a Treason, unless some one of them in its own nature

The Earl defends
himself against the
charge for fifteen
days between March
22, and April 16,
1641.

ture had been Treason : for that was the Charge against him, which he strove to avoid.

He is afterwards proceeded against by a Bill of Attainder, and is found guilty and condemned to death

Yet many of those particulars in his accusation were put into his Bill of Attainder afterward ; for a Bill of Attainder was drawn-up, and read against him in the House of Commons, April 21st, where he was Voted guilty of High Treason.

Mr. *Saint-John*, the King's Sollicitor, and a Member of the House of Commons, on the 29th of *April*, for satisfaction of the Lords, opened the Bill in *Westminster-Hall* (where the Earl of *Strafford* was at the Bar, and the King present in his accustomed place) and made the Bill good by many precedent Statutes. Upon which the Lords, being somewhat satisfied, were afterwards more confirmed when the Judges, in their House, delivered their opinions concerning it; and they voted him guilty of High Treason also. But the King told the Lords, he was not satisfied in Conscience, to condemn him of High Treason : But acknowledged that his misdemeanors were very great; until at last, wearied with Petitions for Justice, the King, calling a Privy Council at *White-hall*, commanded the Judges to deliver their opinion before him there; and sent for some Bishops to resolve him in scruple of Conscience. Which wrought so, that he granted a Commission to four Lords, to sign that Bill for execution of the Earl of *Strafford*; which execution was done at the time and place before-mentioned.

The death of this great Earl seemed to be the more violently sought, and more hastened, by reason of some Treasons against the Parliament, which were at that time discovered ; being partly in favour of him, and contrived to prevent his death by providing him with the means of making an escape out of the Tower.

And is beheaded on
the 10th of May,
1641.

A Plot is discovered
by the Parliament to
have been entered-
into by Sir John
Suckling, and other
persons of eminence,
to enable the said
Earl to escape from
the Tower.

For one part of this Treason was to that purpose. Soldiers were raised by Sir *John Suckling*, and some others, under pretence of service in *Portugal*, to gratifie the Ambassador of that Kingdom ; those Soldiers the King himself (who was now found to be privy to all those Treasons against the Parliament) commanded Sir *William Belfore*, the Lieutenant, to admit into the Tower. But he, perceiving it was a Plot for the Earl's escape, disobeyed

beyed the King's Command. Another part of this Treason, and the chief of all the rest, was a design to bring-up the English Army, which was in the North, and not yet disbanded. This Army they had dealt-with to engage against the Parliament then sitting, and (as they alledged) to maintain the King's Prerogative, Episcopacy, and other things, against the Parliament itself. In this Plot were *Henry Piercy*, brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*; *Mr. Henry Jermin*, Master of the Horse to the Queen; *Colonel Goring*, *Colonel Wilmot*, *Colonel Ashburnham*, *Pollard*, *Suckling*, and others. The King's discourses to *Mr. Piercy* concerning these things were discovered in a Letter of *Piercie's* to his Brother *Northumberland* out of *France*, which was read in the House upon the 14th of *June*; (for *Piercy*, *Jermine*, and *Suckling*, at the beginning of *May*, when this Treason was in some part detected, fled the day before they should have been examined, and passed-over into *France*) : upon which reading, *Wilmot*, *Ashburnham*, and *Pollard*, three Members of the House, mentioned in the Letter, as privy to the Plot, were all committed. If the Earl of *Strafford* had escaped out of the Tower, he was to have Commanded, in aid to this Plot, that Irish Army, (consisting of eight thousand men, most of them Papists,) which the King would not grant to have disbanded, when the Parliament, on the 28th of *April* before, had desired it of him ; but told them he could not disband them, for reasons best known to himself.

Colonel *Goring*, for some discoveries which he made, was not at all committed ; but *Oneale*, an *Irish Papist*, that was deep in the Plot, was apprehended and committed to the Tower, from whence he afterwards escaped.

The Parliament finding such disturbance in their business, and treasons against them, and not at all assured of the King's reality : weighing besides the great charges of paying two Armies, for which money must be raised by Loan upon the publick Faith : moved the King to sign a Bill for the continuance of this present Parliament ; which was, " that it should never be dissolved without the Consent of both Houses."

The King gives the Royal assent to a Bill for the continuance of the Parliament, May 10, 1641.

That

That Bill so drawn-up, the King signed on the 10th of *May*, the same day that he signed the Bill for *Strafford's* execution.

This Bill was a thing, that former ages had not seen the like of: and therefore extremely was the King's Grace magnified by those that flattered him; but it was much condemned by others of his friends, who hated Parliaments and Reformation, who complained that the King had thereby too far put the staff out of his own hands. But many men, who saw the necessity of such a concession, (without which no money upon the publick Faith could be borrowed,) did not at all wonder at it, saying, that, as no King ever granted the like before, so no King had ever before made so great a necessity to require it. But some men were of opinion that it was not of security enough to make the Kingdom happy, unless the King were good: for, if he were ill-affected, he had power enough still to hinder and retard them in any proceeding for the good and settlement of the Commonwealth; and so, by time and delays, to lay a greater *Odium* upon the Parliament, for not satisfying the people's desires, than if they had not had that seeming power to have done it: which proved in the conclusion too true, when the King, by such protraction of business, not at all concurring with them in the main, had raised a party to himself against them, to cut-asunder that Knot by the sword, which by Law he could not unty.

The Parliament after this, began with easing the Kingdom's Grievances; and, because the charge of the two Armies lay upon them, and every day was considerable, till they were disbanded, that was the first thing intended; towards which a great quantity of Plate was appointed, with more than ordinary haste, to be melted and coined.

The King signs the Bill for a Poll-tax.

And for making-up the sum, that Bill of Poll-money was to be signed, which was tendered to the King, and two other Bills with it; one for putting-down the High-Commission Court; and the other for putting-down the Star-Chamber.

The King signed only that Bill of Poll-money, and took time to consider of the other two: but, hearing how ill it was taken at his hands, what murmurings there

there were in the City; and, thinking it not now seasonable to distaste them much; he came to the Parliament three days after, and passed those other two Bills for putting down the High-Commission Court and the Star-Chamber.

The Queen-Mother of France about that time took her leave of the King, and passed over the Seas into Holland; the people desiring to be eased of that charge: for the King had kept her for the space of three years in *England*, at the allowance of 100*l.* a-day.

The Parliament proceeded then against the delinquent Judges about Ship-money; and Charges were drawn-up and read against them in the House of Commons: for in *December* before, when the debate had been concerning Ship-money, and the offence of those Judges who had given their extrajudicial opinions for it, was examined; (upon which the Lord-Keeper *Finch* fled,) the thing was condemned as most illegal. Three Judges had been honest, Judge *Crook*, Judge *Hulton*, and Baron *Denham*; whose Arguments were very famous: the others were examined by sixteen Members of the House of Commons, who were appointed to present those particular Charges, against every Judge; who were, Judge *Bramston*, Baron *Trevor*, Baron *Weston*, Baron *Davenport*, and Judge *Crawley*; for Judge *Barclay* was charged with High Treason.

Of this, a certain Gentleman spake as followeth:
“ The Root of most of our present mischiefs, and ruin of
“ all posterity, do I hold to be that extrajudicial (Judge-
“ ment I cannot say, but rather) doom, delivered by
“ all the Judges under their hands out of Court, yet re-
“ corded in all Courts, to the subversion of all our Fun-
“ damental Laws and Liberties, and to the Annihilation,
“ if not Confiscation, of our Estates: to wit, “ that, in
“ case of danger, the King may impose taxes upon his
“ subjects, and that he is the sole Judge of the danger,
“ necessity, and proportion;” which, in brief, is to take
“ what, when, and where, he will; which (though deliv-
“ ered in the time of a gracious and merciful Prince, who,
“ we hope, will not wrest it beyond our abilities,) yet is
“ left to the interpretation of a succeeding Tyrant, if ever
“ this

And a Bill for abolishing the High-commission Court, and a Bill for abolishing the Court of Star-chamber.

The Queen-Mother of France goes to Holland.

Proceedings against six of the Judges about Ship-money.

“ this Nation be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands
 “ of such an one;—it is a Record, wherein every man
 “ might read himself a slave that reads it, having nothing
 “ he can call his own, all being prostituted to the will of
 “ another.

“ What to do in such a case, we are not to seek
 “ for precedents; our honourable Ancestors taught us (in
 “ the just and exemplary punishments of chief *Justice Tre-*
“ silian and his Complices, for giving their *judgements*
 “ out of *Parliament* against the established *Laws of*
 “ *Parliament*,) how tender they were of us, how careful
 “ we ought to be to continue those *Laws*, in order to
 “ preserve the Liberty of our Posterity.

Those Charges were now brought-in about the beginning of *August*: but little was afterwards done against any of them, or almost any other offender. The King had designed a journey into *Scotland*, and persevered in his resolution of going there, though the Houses earnestly entreated his stay for a while longer in England, because the Kingdom's business required his presence. The King alledged that the affairs of *Scotland* did necessarily require his presence: and further told them, that he would pass any good Bill, which they had for him, before he went. Which he accordingly did, and signed a Commission for passing of Bills in his absence; the Commissioners were, the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, the Lord Privy-seal, Earl of *Manchester*; the Lord great Chamberlain, Earl of *Lindsey*; the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Bath*, the Earl of *Dorset*: and, by a Bill, which the King then signed, the Earl of *Essex* was also made General of all his forces on this side *Trent*, with power to levy Arms in case of necessity.

But before the King went, the Earl of *Holland*, chosen both by him and the Parliament as General for that purpose, was gone into the North to disband the English Army there,

The King departing from *London* the tenth of *August*, made haste towards *Scotland*, and passed by the Armies as they were disbanding. Whether he did underhand attempt any thing with the Scottish Army (as a Scottish writer hath published) to engage them against the Parliament of *England*, with large promises of Spoil, and

The King resolves to go to Scotland, and hold a Parliament there; though the English Parliament intreated him to stay longer in England, to proceed with the business before them.

He departs from London towards Scotland on the 10th of August.

and offering Jewels of great value in pawn for performance of it, I leave as uncertain, for the reader to judge by what afterwards fell-out. But, if he did, it was a matter of great falsehood, having as yet declared no enmity against the English Parliament. But what the King's design was in going into *Scotland*, was not understood in *England*. The same Author says, it was to make sure those Noblemen of that Kingdom, whom he doubted-of, as not willing to serve his turn against *England*. And true it is, that, about *September*, Letters came from *Scotland* to the standing Committee at *Westminster* (for the two Houses had adjourned themselves from the eighth of *September* to the twentieth of *October*, and appointed a standing Committee of fifty Members during that time,) containing Information that a Treasonable Plot was discovered there against the lives of some of the greatest Peers in the Kingdom; upon which the standing Committee, fearing some mischief from the same spring, placed strong guards in divers parts of the City of *London*.

N. B.

However the mischiefs might fall-out by chance, or by design, the King's journey into *Scotland* was sure to hinder the English business, and to retard the cure of all their Grievances; which was little less than a plain destruction. For after the tenth of *August*, the day of his departure, little was done in the Parliament until after the recess.

On the 23rd of *October*, whilst the King remained in *Scotland*, broke-forth that cursed conspiracy of the Irish Rebels, and the inhuman butchery of Protestants through the whole Island, more tragical than any effect of a calamitous War; in which was put in execution, whatsoever could be imagined from the licentious cruelty of a barbarous people, so long kept under the English yoke, or whatever the dire dictates of superstition, or wicked exhortations of Priests, could infuse into them. It was wonderful, that so devilish a design could so long be kept close; whereby 200,000 Protestants, in two months space, were murdered, and many by exquisite torments; and many more were despoiled of all their worldly fortunes.

The Irish Papists break-out into a sudden and general Rebellion, and massacre 200,000 Protestants, on the 23rd of October, A.D. 1641.

This devilish design was to be put in execution on the 23rd of *October*; upon which day, not only the

Castle of Dublin, (the Kingdom's chief Magazine, a storehouse of ten thousand arms at that time;) but all other Forts and Magazines in that Kingdom were to be surprized; and all the English or Protestants, that joined not with them, to be murdered.

The manner of its discovery to the Lords-Justices of Ireland, on the preceeding day.

The seizure of *Dublin Castle*, (for which purpose, many of the chief Rebels came to the City the day before,) was prevented, by a timely discovery of the Plot to the two Lords-Justices, by one *Owen O'Conally*, a Servant to Sir *John Clotworthy*; which discovery was made but the very night before that fatal day, and the occasion of making it was very accidental, (or, rather, a strange providence of God,) by *Mac-Mahon's* unadvisedly trusting this *Owen* with some relations concerning it at a Tavern.

Upon which discovery, *Mac-Mahon*, and the Lord *Macguire*, were presently apprehended by the Lords-Justices, and many Conspirators of great note escaped that night out of *Dublin*. In this manner was *Dublin* saved, that all *Ireland* might not be lost in one day. But the horrid design was past prevention, as to the general; for the Conspirators were up at the day in all the Counties round about; and poor English Protestants arrived at *Dublin* every day, robbed and spoiled of all they had, relating how their houses were seized, how Towns and Villages in all parts were fired, and cruel outrages committed.

The Lords-Justices, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borlace*, taking those arms which they found in *Dublin*, and arming whom they could on a sudden to defend themselves, dispatched letters to the King in *Scotland*, and to the Earl of *Leicester*, who had been lately appointed Deputy of *Ireland*, but was still in *England*. Money was wanting, and no supplies nearer than *England*.

Owen O'Conally, the discoverer of the Plot, is sent over to *England* with Letters to the Parliament concerning it.

Owen O'Conally, the first discoverer of the Plot, brought the first Letters to *London*; upon receipt of which, they rewarded *Owen* with a gift of 500*l.* and an annuity of 200*l. per annum*; and presently both Houses of Parliament met at a Conference, and the House of Commons forthwith resolved themselves into a Committee, to consider of *Ireland's* relief, and also to provide for the safety of *England*: for distractions began then

to

to appear in *England*. The Parliament every day considered of *Ireland's* relief, and presently ordered supplies of money to be borrowed of the City of *London*, Victuals, and Ammunition for that purpose. But all relief could be but slow in such a sudden disease. For the Rebellion encreased, and spred through all the Kingdom; and many Papists and ill-affected persons fled from *Dublin* into the country, to join with the Rebels, whilst the City, in their rooms, was daily filled with poor spoiled Protestants, who came, naked and famished, thither; many of whom were past relief, and there perished in the City. It were an endless thing to relate the pitiful condition of those woeful people, and what sad stories they told there concerning the bloody rage of those inhuman Irish Rebels, and the several tortures by which the unhappy English were brought to their ends.

But the Lords of the Council and the Lords-Justices in a short time, with those arms that were in *Dublin*, had armed many well-affected Gentlemen, and sent many active Commanders out of the City to defend places near it, against the approach of the Rebels. About the middle of November, there were in Arms, Sir *Charles Coot*, Sir *Henry Tichburn*, the Lord *Lambert*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Captain *Armstrong*, and Captain *Yarner*; and the Earl of *Ormond* came to *Dublin* with an hundred Horse well-armed. At which time the Parliament of *England*, till greater sums could be raised, sent them over, as a present comfort, twenty thousand pounds. But it was a long time before they could send over any forces to the relief of that bleeding Kingdom; the first was a Regiment commanded by Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who arrived on the last day of December, 1641.

While *Ireland* was thus miserably distressed, the King returned out of *Scotland* into *England*, and was entertained by the City of *London* with most pompous solemnity: the whole multitude of Citizens, distinguished by their several Companies, in such costly Equipage as never before was known, with Horse and Arms met the King, and guarded him through the whole City to his Palace at *White hall*. Some persons condemned that costly entertainment of the City at such a sad time; others hoped it might gain the King's dubious affection to his peo-

The Lords-Justices of Ireland take measures for the defence of Dublin.

The King returns out of Scotland to London, and is entertained by the City of London with great pomp and ceremony. November 25, 1641.

But this great mark
of their respect and
attachment has a bad
effect upon the King,
and makes him dis-
dainful towards the
Parliament.

ple. But it wrought a contrary effect in the King; who began now to think he could never lose the love of the City, whatsoever he did; and was flattered, by some, with a hope that the City would assist him in curbing of the Parliament itself. He grew therefore more disdainful toward the Parliament: and, to endear the City, invited divers of the chief citizens to *Hampton-Court*, where he feasted them and made some of them Knights.

But the honest Citizens, perceiving that no good use was made of their dutiful expressions towards the King, but that some bad people did openly say, "that the City were weary of the Parliament, and would join with the King against it; they framed a Petition to the Parliament, wherein the contrary is professed; and that they would live and die with the Parliament for the good of the Commonwealth.

While the King remained at *Hampton-Court*, the House of Commons presented him with a Remonstrance, wherein the Grievances of the Kingdom are expressed; but no fault laid upon himself in plain words, but on a *Malignant party* (as they call them) and *evil Counsellors*.

Ireland's calamities seemed to be quiteforgotten, or, rather, it seemed that those inhuman Rebels were countenanced; every body wondering that the King would not proclaim them Rebels; and some honest Lords advising the King to proclaim them speedily, to the end that a better course might be taken against them. They desired him to wash-off that foul stain from himself, by proceeding severely against those wicked villains; who reported every-where that they had authority from him to seize upon the Holds of the English Protestants; that they were the Queen's Soldiers, and rose to maintain the King's Prerogative against the Puritan Parliament in *England*. They therefore advised him by all means to purge himself of that crime; than which, a greater on earth could not be.

But so strangely were things carried, that, although the Rebellion brake-out upon the twenty-third of *October*, the King did not proclaim them Rebels till the first of *January*; and then gave a strict command, that no more than forty Copies of that Proclamation should be printed, and that none of them should be published, till his Majesty's pleasure were further signified; so that only a few

The King forbears
for more than two
months to proclaim
the Popish Insur-
gents in *Ireland*, to
be Rebels.

At last he proclaims
them to be Rebels,
on the first day of
January, 1641-42.

a few persons could take notice of it: Which made all men extremely wonder, when they recollect ed the late contrary proceedings against the Scots; who were, in a very quick and sharp manner, proclaimed, and those Proclamations forthwith dispersed, with as much diligence as might be, thorow all the Kingdom.

But before this Proclamation came-out, the Parliament, being somewhat troubled with some speeches, of which they had been informed, as if a Plot were contrived against them, desired the King to allow them a Guard for security of their persons; and that the Earl of *Essex*, (who was then Lord *Chamberlain* of his Majesty's Household,) might be Commander of it. But the King denied them a Guard, giving them many fair promises of his care for their safety; and declaring that he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible-for to Almighty God.

Three days after the Proclamation against those Irish Rebels, being the fourth of *January*, the King, attended with about three hundred Armed Gentlemen, came to *Westminster*, and, entering in Person into the House of Commons, and seating himself in the Speaker's Chair, demanded five Members of that House to be delivered-up to him; *Mr. Hollis*, *Sir Arthur Haslerig*, *Mr. Pym*, *Mr. Hamden*, and *Mr. Strode*.

Those five Members had, by command of the House, upon information of the King's intent, absented themselves. Which the King finding, went-away, after a short Speech delivered concerning them, "That he intended a fair Trial against them, and that he was, and would be, as careful to maintain the Priviledges of Parliament, as ever any King of *England* was." He had, the day before, demanded them by his Atturney, *Sir Edward Herbert*, a Member of the House of Commons, pretending a Charge of High Treason against them, and with them, against the Lord *Mandevile*, a Member of the House of Lords. But the Parliament did not think fit to let their Persons go. Whereupon the King sent and sealed-up the Closets and Trunks of those five Members: He made also a Proclamation against them, for their apprehending and imprisonment, as men guilty of High Treason.

The King enters the House of Commons with a body of armed men, to seize on the persons of five members of it. January 4, 1641-42.

This great breach of Parliament-Priviledge happened in a strange time, to divert the Kingdom from relieving of *Ireland*; and so the people every where complained, and called to mind what they had heard by some of those poor Protestants, who fled out of *Ireland*; who reported that those Irish Rebels did confidently say, “it was to no purpose to fly for safety into *England*; for that this Kingdom would be as much distressed as theirs, and that the King intended to forsake his Parliament in *England*, and make War against it; which when he did, they would come-over, (having done their work in *Ireland*,) and help the King against the English Parliament.” Those things were sadly remembered.

The Commons complain of the King's violent entry into their House, as a high breach of their Privileges.

On this occasion the Parliament voted, that *These things were an high breach of the Prviledge of Parliament,—a great scandal to the King and his Government,—a seditious act, manifestly tending to the subversion of the peace,—and an injury and dishonour to the said Members, there being no legal Charge, or accusation, against them. And that there could be no vindication of those Privileges, unless his Majesty would discover the Names of those who advised him to such unlawful courses.* They therefore desired him to satisfy their legal desire in that, “to let them know their informers;” (which, by two Statutes then in force, upon such occasions the King is bound to do: but he refused to grant their request. Upon which they committed his Attorney, Sir Edward Herbert (having been examined about it, but confessing nothing), for breaking the Privileges of Parliament in preferring the Articles, &c.

The King on the next day, January 5, goes into the City of London.

The King, the next day after this violent entry into the House of Commons, went through the City of *London*; where the Citizens in many places, flocking about his Coach, humbly entreated him to agree with his Parliament, and not to break the Privileges thereof. To which purpose, they afterwards presented him with a Petition, beseeching him, for poor *Ireland's* sake, to accord with his Parliament, to allow them a Guard, and to do right to the accused Members; with other things of that nature, expressed at large in that Petition. The people, about that time, being discontented with the King's actions, and those obstructions which they found in all businesses of Parliament,

liament, used to flock to *Westminster* in great throngs, though unarmed, by way of Petitioning, and many times to utter rude speeches against some Lords, whom they conceived to be evil advisers of the King; which, howsoever it were meant, proved of ill consequence to the Commonwealth, and did not so much move the King to be sensible of his grieving the people, as arm him with an excuse for leaving the Parliament and City for fear of what might ensue upon such tumultuous concourses of men.

The citizens of London flock to Westminster in great crowds, and make rude speeches against the King's evil advisers.

Upon this ground twelve Bishops, at that time absenting themselves, entred a Protestation against all Laws, Votes, and Orders, as Null, which in their absence should pass; by reason that they durst not, for fear of their lives, come to perform their duties in the House, having been rudely menaced and affronted. Whereupon it was agreed, both by the Lords and Commons, that this Protestation of the Bishops was of dangerous Consequence, and deeply entrenched upon the Priviledge and Being of Parliaments. They were therefore accused of High Treason, apprehended, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

Thus was the Parliament daily troubled with ill work, whereby the relief of *Ireland* was hindered: but other particular hinderances of *Ireland's* relief then fell-out, which we shall express briefly.

When the Parliament were considering of Forces to be sent-out of *Scotland*, being a short cut, many things happened to divert, or delay, it. There was a Bill for Pressing of Soldiers for that purpose, depending in the House of Peers, which the King took exceptions at, as to the putting of it into that way; being, as he said, a diminution of his Prerogative: but, because he desired that *Ireland* might be relieved, he was content that a Bill should pass for that time with a *Salvo Jure* both to King and people. This speech offended the Parliament; who declared in a Petition, "that the King, by taking notice of the debate in the House of Lords concerning the Bill for pressing of Soldiers, had broken the fundamental priviledge of Parliament;" because he ought not to do so concerning any Bill, till it be presented to him in due course of Parliament: for that every Member hath free liberty of speech

Twelve Bishops absent themselves from Parliament, and make a Protestation against every thing transacted in their absence.

Divers unfortunate incidents retard the relief intended by the Parliament to be sent to the Protests in Ireland.

in propounding or debating, and the King ought not to be displeased at him for such opinions or propositions. For this great breach of Priviledge they desired reparation, and that the King would make known who they were by whose evil Counsel he had done it, that they might receive condign punishment.

It was then also desired, that an Army of *Scots* should be sent into *Ireland* first; but the Scottish Commissioners answered, that they had not Commission from their State to send-over a less number thither than 10,000 men. The House of Commons consented, out of Zeal to the Cause; and Voted the sending-over of ten thousand *Scots*. But the Lords would not yield unto it, unless the House of Commons would give assurance that ten thousand English should be sent-over as speedily; which was impossible to be done. And no other reason was given for this Opposition, but that it was dishonourable for *England*, that *Ireland* should be reduced to obedience by the *Scots*; and that the *Scots* would make too great an advantage by it. But this reason was not thought, by honest men, to be of weight enough to hinder so good a work; when the cause of Religion, and the deplorable estate of so many thousand poor Christians, groaned for assistance.

A third obstruction of *Ireland's* Relief was thus: Two thousand, five hundred, *Scots* were in readiness to be transported into the North of *Ireland*. Concerning the condition of their going, the Commissioners of *Scotland* delivered to the English Parliament, eight Propositions. Both Houses consented to all the Propositions; but the King excepted against one of those Propositions; which was the third in order: *That the Scots should have the keeping of the Town and Castle of Carrickfergus, with power to remain there, or to enlarge their quarters at their discretion; and that, if any Regiments or Troops in that Province, should join with them, they should receive Orders from the chief Commanders of the Scottish Forces.*

This Article, the King said, that he doubted, might be to the damage of *England*; and therefore would have the Parliament think upon it again. Nevertheless, if they would have it so, he would confer with the Scottish Commissioners about it.

The *Scots* answered the King, That they were sorry that

that his Majesty, being their native King, should show less trust in them, than their neighbour Nation had freely done ; and should think that Article too much for them, which both Houses of Parliament were pleased with. The King atlast, (though too much time had been lost,) was contented to admit of that Article, as the Parliament had done.

But that way which the Parliament thought most powerful to reduce *Ireland*, was, by adventuring for proportions of Land there, to be shared amongst the English Adventurers, according to those sums of money, which they would disburse or subscribe : That so, whosoever, in person or purse, helped towards the conquest of those bloody Rebels, might be recompensed, if the Work were done. Propositions were framed in Parliament to that purpose. The King confirmed these Propositions, though at first he laughed at them, and was heard to say, *That they were like to him, who sold the Bear's skin before the Bear was killed.*

At last an Act was made*, enabling the Parliament with power to carry-on that War, until *Ireland* should be declared wholly subdued ; and that no Peace, or Cessation of Arms, should be ever made with the Rebels, unless both Houses of Parliament consented to it. The King then offered to go in person over into *Ireland*. But the Parliament thought it was not fit to hazard the King's person in such an expedition.

At last the King gives his assent to an Act of Parliament for suppressing the Rebellion in Ireland.

The King was then at *Hampton-Court*, distasted at the City, and pretending the reasons of his absence to be fear of Tumults: for, besides what was before spoken of the numbers which flocked to Petition at *Westminster*, the King was advertised, that on the day after he retired to *Hampton* (which was about a week after his going to the House of Commons) divers Citizens, with Boats, and Guns in them, brought the five Members to *Westminster*, with many promises not to forsake the Parliament.

From thence, upon the twentieth of *Januay*, the King sent a Message to the Parliament, desiring them, that, seeing that particular grievances were so many, that it would be tedious to present them separately, one after another, they would digest them into one Body ; that so a clear

* See Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, in the 17th year of King Charles the First, chapters 33, 34, 35, 36, and 37.

Judgement might be made upon them ; *And then they should see how ready he would be to equal, or exceed, the greatest examples of the most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.*

The Parliament petition the King to permit them to appoint the officers of the Militia of the Kingdom. January 26, 1641-42.

The King refuses to grant their request.

The Parliament gave him thanks, and resolved speedily to consider of it ; but desired the King, in the meantime, to give them a sure ground of security (while they discharged their Trust) by putting the Tower, with other principal Forts, and the whole *Militia* of the Kingdom, into such hands, as the Parliament might trust, and recommend to him.

The King refused to grant that Petition ; alledging, that he would reserve to himself the disposal of all those places, as a principal, and inseparable, Flower of his Crown : nevertheless, he promised to entrust none but faithful Persons in any of those places.

Many reasons were shewed on both sides, and many Petitions and Answers passed ; the Parliament still pressing for this Grant of the *Militia*, and the King still denying it.

The King, then residing at *Hampton-Court*, had found out a new way to weaken the Parliament in their number, by sending for some, who were his Servants, to leave their sitting in the House to attend him. Especially he aimed at the Earl of *Essex*, his Lord-Chamberlain ; and the Earl of *Holland*, his Groom of the Stole ; both whom he sent-for : but they chose rather to obey his Parliament-Writ, than his private Command ; and continued sitting. Upon which he sent a Messenger to demand the *Staffe* of the one, and the *Key* of the other, being the Ensigns of their Offices ; which they willingly resigned.

The Lord Digby writes a Letter to the Queen, wherein he offers to assist the King in making War upon the Parliament.

The Lord *George Digby*, about that time, had written a Letter to the Queen from *Middleborough*, in *Zealand*, (whither he had fled from *England*, when the Lords in Parliament had sent for him upon some Misdemeanors, and, if he appeared not in twenty days, had proclaimed him a *Traytor*) in which he intimates, That, if the King will declare himself, and retire to a safe place, he should be able to wait upon him from thence, as well as from any part of *England*, over and above the service which he might do for him there in the mean time.

This Letter was intercepted, and brought to the Parliament ;

liament; whereby they began to understand, that the King had some design in hand against them; which they more plainly afterwards discerned.

The King and Queen, about the middle of *February*, with their eldest Daughter *Mary*, Princess of *Orange*, went to *Canterbury*: From which place (while some of the Members of both Houses went between *London* and that City upon divers businesses) the King signed the Bill for taking-away the Bishops Votes in Parliament.

The King and Queen, with the Princess Mary, go to Canterbury.

From *Canterbury* they went to *Dover*: from whence the Queen passed into *Holland*, under pretext of keeping her Daughter company to her Husband. But she carried with her the Crown Jewels of *England*, and pawned them there; whereby she bought Arms for that War which ensued, and was, it seems, then designed by the King against the Parliament.

The Queen and Princess Mary go over to Holland.

After her departure, the King, taking the Prince and Duke of *York* with him, went to *Theobalds*; there he received a Petition from the Parliament on the first of *March*, one thousand, six hundred, forty-one, wherein they desired him to Grant the *Militia*, to abide near *London*, and not to carry the Prince away.

The King with his two eldest sons goes to Theobalds, March 1, 1641-42.

All which he denied; and went immediately to *New-Market*.

And thence to Newmarket, where he receives a Declaration from both Houses of Parliament.

There he was presented with a Declaration drawn by both Houses. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, with some Commoners, carried it: In which they repeat the old Grievances;—his wicked War against *Scotland*,—the *Irish* Rebellion raised here by many presumptions, —his attempt of engaging the *English* Army against the Parliament,—his entering the House of Commons,—with the like; and that his fear to reside near *London* is without ground, and pretended for nothing but to perplex the Commonwealth, to hinder the relief of *Ireland*, and to encourage the ill-affected party in this Kingdom: to which the King gave an answer in person with great Indignation, and afterwards answered it by a long written Declaration of his own, in which he endeavoured to clear himself of some things, and to extenuate, or excuse, others; and accused them of coining to themselves needless Fears and Jealousies. And so these Commissioners departed from *Newmarket*; and the King (while the Parliament

And from Newmarket he goes to York, where he arrives about the 24th of March, 1641-42.

ment

ment suffered him, without any real hinderance) to the People's great grief, passed-on to the City of York.

Votes of Parliament
in consequence of
the King's departure
from them.

The Parliament, in the mean time, sit, and Vote only against the King's evil Counsel, and make three Votes.

1. *That the King's absence, so far remote from his Parliament, is not only an obstruction, but may be a destruction, to the Affairs in Ireland.*

2. *That, when the Lords and Commons in Parliament shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command published that it should not be obeyed, is an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.*

3. *That they which advised the King to absent himself from the Parliament, are enemies to the peace of this Kingdom, and justly to be suspected, as favourers of the Rebellion in Ireland.*

From York the King sent a Message to the Parliament, on the eighth of April, 1642, that he would go in person over to *Ireland* against those bloody Rebels ; and therefore intended to raise by his Commission, near *West-chester*, a Guard for his Person (when he should come into *Ireland*) of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse, whom he would arm from his Magazine at *Hull*.

Sir John Hotham takes possession of the town of Hull by the order of the Parliament.

But the Parliament suspecting, as well by my Lord *Digby* his intercepted Letter, as by other presumptions, That the King's chief end in going Northward, was to seize the Magazine of *Hull*, and arm himself from thence against them ; sent a Petition to him, for leave to remove that Magazine to the Tower of *London* ; and, accordingly, had sent Sir *John Hotham* thither, who prevented the King, and kept-out the Earl of *Newcastle*, whom the King had sent thither also for the same purpose ; at which action of theirs, the King was much moved.

He refuses to admit the King into it.
April 23, 1742.

On the three and twentieth day of April 1642, the King, attended by some Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Souldiers, came to the Walls of *Hull*, and demanded entrance. But the Gates were shut, and Sir *John Hotham* appeared upon the Wall, and, kneeling there, en-treated

treated the King not to command that, in performing which he, without breach of Trust, could not obey him : in conclusion, the King, not getting entrance, proclaimed *Hotham* a Traytor, and sent a complaining Message to the Parliament concerning that affront.

The Parliament laboured to appease him, but justified *Hotham's* act ; and declared, That proclaiming Sir *John Hotham* a Traytor, without due process of Law, was against the Liberty of the subject, and the Laws of the Land.

Upon this business of *Hull*, passed in a short time many Declarations on both sides, with Arguments drawn from the Statutes and Laws of *England*; and many commands contrary to each other ; the Parliament authorizing Sir *John Hotham* to issue-out Warrants to the Constables and other Officers, to come with Arms to the defence of *Hull*: and the King, on the other side, forbidding any such Warrants, or Training, without authority under his hand.

The King, while the Parliament let him alone in the North, daily Summoned the Gentry of those Counties to attend him at *York*, and daily gained some to his party ; whose proceedings there in every particular, are too tedious for this Relation ; but his frequent Orations to them were in substance, That he was in danger from the Parliament, and desired a Guard for his person. And, when the King made Proclamation for all Gentlemen and others, to attend him in Arms as a Guard ; the Parliament at *London* only declared, That such Arming of men to the disturbance of the Kingdom's peace, was against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom. Thus did Proclamations and Declarations for a long time encounter each other.

But nothing made the Kingdom fear a War, until that great defection of Parliament-Members, who left their Seats and went to the King at *York*: Which happened about the end of *April*, and continued a great part of *May* following ; in which space a great number of the Lords, some sent-for by the King, others acting from their own discontents, fears, or ambition, quitted their Seats in Parliament, and went to him one after another.

The King raises soldiers in Yorkshire.

Many Members of the House of Lords abandon the Parliament, and repair to the King. In May, 1642.

The

The Lords that left the Parliament were these:

The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorset*, *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Bristol*, *Westmoreland*, *Berkshire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcastle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvan*, *Newport*; the Lords *Matrevers*, *Wilioughby of Eresby*, *Rich*, *Howard of Charlton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandos*, *Falconbridge*, *Paulet*, *Lovelace*, *Savil*, *Coventry*, *Mohun*, *Dunsmore*, *Seymour*, *Grey of Ruthen*, and *Capel*.

And likewise many Members of the House of Commons.

Within that time also, many of the House of Commons did so far break their Trust, as to forsake their Seats in Parliament, and go to the King.

This Revolt of so many Members of both Houses, was generally looked-upon as a thing of most sad consequence, and likely to produce no effects, but such as were lamentable and wicked: as—to nourish and encrease the King's disaffection to Parliaments;—to encourage his distance from it, and attempts against it;—to secure the Irish Rebels;—to subvert the dignity of that high Court; and make the King, by this diminution of their number (as he did in his following Declarations) call them *a Faction*, *a pretended Parliament*, and such-like opprobrious names.

The Parliament at Westminster again Petitions the King.

The Parliament continued still Petitioning the King; and on the twentieth of May sent to entreat him, that he would Disband his Forces, and rely for his security (as his Predecessors had done) upon the Laws, and the Affections of his People; contenting himself with his ordinary Guards; declaring, that else they held themselves bound in duty to God, and the trust reposed in them by the People, and by the fundamental Laws, to employ their utmost care, and power, for securing the Parliament, and preserving the Kingdom's Peace.

Upon which, these Votes were made in Parliament.

That it appears that th: King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intends to make a War against the Parliament, who, in all their Consultations and Actions, have proposed no other end to themselves, but the care of his Kingdoms,

doms, and the performance of all duty and loyaltie to his Person.

It was likewise Resolved upon the Question, That,

Whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of this Government.

As also,

That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such Wars, are Traitors by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged in two Acts of Parliament, 11 Richard 2, and 1 Henry 4, and that such Persons ought to suffer as Traitors.

But those Lords who had forsaken the Parliament, continued still with the King in the North; wherefore the Parliament, by an Order of the thirtieth of May, Summoned nine of them, who first had gone-away, to appear at Westminster; viz. The Earls of Northampton, Devonshire, Dover, and Monmouth; the Lords Howard of Charleton, Rich, Grey of Ruthens, Coventry, and Capel. But they refused to come-away, returning an Answer in writing; which the Parliament judged to be a slighting, and scornful Letter; upon which, a Vote was passed against them in the House of Commons, and presented on the 15th of June, to the Lords by Master Hollis, with an Oration concerning the importance of the business.

Upon the Impeachment of the nine Lords, the House of Peers, about a month after, being in their Robes, entered into Debate of the said Impeachment; and after divers Speeches made, setting-forth the greatness of their offence, they were Censured,

And summons nine
of the Lords who had
quitted their seats, to
come-back again.

And, upon their re-
fusal to come-back,
they are impeached
by the House of
Commons before the
House of Lords, and
condemned in severe
penalties. In July,
1642.

1. *Never to sit more as Members of that House.*
2. *To be incapable of the Benefit or Priviledge of Parliament.*
3. *To suffer imprisonment during their pleasure.*

After which Censure, it was concluded, That the said Lords

Lords should be demanded, in the behalf of both Houses of Parliament, to submit to the said Censure.

The Lord-keeper Littleton quits the Parliament at London, and repairs to the King at York, carrying with him the Great Seal.

After this, another Wound was given to the Parliament, encouraging the King in his Designs; the Great Seal of *England* was carried-away from the Parliament at *London*, to the King at *York*, by the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, a man that had continued some time, after the rest were gone, firm in appearance, Voted with them, and gave his Voice for settling of the *Militia* by Ordinance of Parliament.

But about the end of *June*, one Master *Eliot*, a Courtier, was sent closely from *York* to him; who having gotten privacy with the Lord-Keeper, so far prevailed at last, that he got the Great Seal into his hands, and rid-away with it to the King at *York*.

The Lord Keeper *Littleton*, after some serious thoughts with himself, not being able to answer it to the Parliament, rode away himself next day to the King also. The reason which he gave to some friends of his afterwards, for so parting with the Seal, was this: The King, when he made him Lord-Keeper, gave him an Oath in private, which he took, That whensoever the King should send to him for the Great Seal, he should forthwith deliver it. This Oath, he said, he could not dispence-with in Conscience, but was sorry he had taken the Office with such an Oath. The Seal was given him since this Parliament sat; which made it appear what intentions the King even then had towards the Parliament.

The King, having now gotten the Great Seal, issued-forth many Proclamations; and, among others, one, that no man should obey the Parliament's Warrants about settling the *Militia*: and they, on the other side, by Ordinances forbad any man to raise Arms by Warrant from the King, without the authority of Parliament.

The Parliament being then intent upon settling the *Militia* by Land, they took care also to seize the Navy into their hands, for security of the Kingdom against foreign invasions.

To that purpose, the Earl of *Warwick*, a Nobleman of good experience in Sea-affairs, and undoubted fidelity to his Country, was by an Ordinance of both Houses chosen to be Lord-Admiral. But the King had chosen

The Parliament, by an Ordinance, makes the Earl of Warwick Lord High Admiral of England.

Sir

the Civil War of England.

Sir John Pennington to that Place, in the room of the Earl of *Northumberland*; and sent a Command to the Earl of *Warwick* to resign the Place to him.

But the Earl chose rather to obey the Ordinance of Parliament, and with great courage and policy got the Fleet into his hands, though many of the Captains stood-out against him, alledging they had the King's Command to obey Sir John Pennington. But the Earl deprived them of their Commands, and possessed himself of the Ships; taking, shortly after, another Ship called the *Lion*, of great import, coming out of *Holland*, and laden with Gunpowder; which proved a great addition to his strength.

All men at this time began to despair of the King's return to his Parliament, and therefore on the 10th of June was an Order made in Parliament for bringing-in money and plate, to raise Arms for the Cause; the publick Faith for repayment to them that brought it in, was engaged by the Parliament, and Interest of eight in the hundred was allowed to them till the repayment, which was accordingly brought-in in great abundance by well-affected people: as also Horses and Arms for that service.

The King at that time had received Money and Arms, with Ammunition, out of *Holland*, upon pawning of the Crown-Jewels, which the Queen had carried-over in February before. He then sent-out his Commissions of Array to Arm the People, into all Counties: wherein he used the Parliament's own Words, as in a Jeer of them. For the Parliament professed that their receiving of Plate and Money, and levying of Forces was, *To maintain the Protestant Religion, the King's Person, Dignity, and Authority, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and Priviledge of Parliament*. The King's words were the same; namely, *To maintain the Protestant Religion, his own Person and Authority, the Laws, the Kingdom's Peace, and Priviledge of Parliament*.

And, whereas the Parliament, in their Declarations, both then, and afterward, used to say, That they did Arm against a malignant Party, by whom the King's Person was in danger; He, in his, said the like, and that, for the safety of his own Person and People, there was an inevitable necessity of putting the Kingdom into a Posture

The Civil War between the King and Parliament, begins June 10, 1642.

of Defence ; using those very words in his Commission of Array, which they did in their Ordinance for the *Militia*. And invited People to bring Plate and Money to him, in that language which the Parliament did : nor did it prove less effectual ; for many Lords, Gentlemen, and others, very freely brought-in Money and Plate, to serve the King, within a short space.

The King makes a solemn protestation before the Lords that attended him, that he intends to maintain the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects.

In all this heat of preparations, the King, before those Lords that were with him in the North, made a solemn Protestation, as before God, that he would not engage them in any War against the Parliament, but only for his necessary defence ; that his desire was to maintain the Protestant Religion, the Liberties of the Subject, and Priviledge of Parliament.

Upon which, those Lords made a solemn Protestation, as before God, and subscribed their Names to it, That they did believe the King's intention to be as he said ; namely, that he had no purpose to Levy War against the Parliament ; and that he endeavoured only to maintain the Protestant Religion, the Laws, Liberties of the Subject, and just Priviledge of Parliament.

The King immediately after this took a progress about the Countries adjacent, and at divers places made speeches to the Gentlemen, and Inhabitants, full of gracious promises, and declaring his intentions to preserve the People's Liberties, and Priviledge of Parliament ; after which he returned to *York* : and having raised an Army of three thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, went to *Beverly*, with an intention to besiege *Hull* ; making Proclamation beforehand, That no man should presume to assist *Hull*, against him, or bring any force thither. The Parliament, on the other side, published a Declaration, for the preservation and safety of the Kingdom, and of the town of *Hull*, with assurance of Satisfaction to all those who sustained any loss by their service for the safety of that Town, or by overflowing of water upon the grounds there.

The King prepares to lay siege to the town of Hull.

The King was within two hours march of *Hull*, when Sir *John Hotham*, calling a Council of War, by whom it was thought so-fit, drowned the Country about *Hull*, drawing-up the Sluice ; giving the Owners time

to remove their Cattel and Goods, the Parliament being to satisfie their damages upon the public Faith.

Sir John Meldrum, an old Souldier, was assistant to Hotham; who sallying bravely out of the Town, with five hundred Townsmen, made the King's party retreat to Beverly, some being slain, and taken in the Chase.

That Town is bravely defended by Sir John Meldrum.

Within a short time after, (when five hundred men sent from London arrived at Hull) Sir John Meldrum made a fiercer Sally, and forced most of the Leaguer to retire disorderly, one and twenty of them being slain, and fifteen taken prisoners; and following his good success, came to Aulby, where the King's Magazine of Arms, Ammunition, and Fire-balls were kept in a Barn; all which he took, and fired the Barn: Upon which, the King calling a Councel of War, upon their advice broke-up the siege before Hu'l.

The King is forced to raise the siege of it.

On the twelfth of July the Parliament Voted that an Army should be raised for the safety of the King's person, and defence of the Parliament. Of which the Earl of Essex, a man of eminent fidelity and worth, was, by an unanimous consent of both Houses, chosen General.

The Parliament appoints the Earl of Essex to be Lord-General of their Army, July 12, 1642.

Some Lords and Members of the Comunons were sent-down into the Counties to settle the *Militia*, and raise Forces for defence of several Towns and Places.

And divers Members of the Houses listed themselves in the Lord-General Essex his Army; and took Commissions from him, as Colonels.

But immediately after this time, the King's Commissions of Array were sent-down into every County, (though often declared by the Parliament to be illegal) and were obeyed in many places, more than the Parliament's Ordinances for the *Militia*; by reason that so many Lords and Gentlemen adhered to him now against the Parliament.

But there were scarce any Counties free from contention, betwixt the Commissions of the one, and the Ordinances of the other; which struggled together, with great Nobility and Gentry on both sides: Neither had the King's Proclamations, nor the Parliament's Ordinances, obedience from all, but only as far as the now-drawing swords enforced it.

The Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Gurney, opposes the measures of the Parliament.

And is thereupon impeached and punished by the House of Lords, August 12, 1642.

The King sets-up his Standard-Royal at Nottingham, August 25, 1642.

During these Divisions in several Counties, *London* itself was not free; for the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Richard Gurney*, was by the Parliament committed prisoner to the Tower of *London*, for moving sedition in the Kingdom, by causing the King's Commission of Array (a thing declared illegal by both Houses) to be proclaimed in the City: and afterwards an additional Impeachment was brought-in against him by the Common-Council of *London*, for divers Breaches of his Oath in that Office, and contemning the Orders of Parliament.

After many days attendance concerning these Accusations, on the twelfth day of *August* he received his Censure at the House of Lords; which was,

That he should be turned-out of his Majoralty.

That he should never bear any Office in the City, or Commonwealth.

That he should be incapable of any Honor or Dignity to be conferred on him by the King; and committed Prisoner to the Tower during the Pleasure of both Houses.

Many Proclamations about that time passed from the King, and Declarations from the Parliament; one from the King against the Earl of *Essex*, as a Rebel, and all that adhered unto him; and a Declaration from the Parliament, recounting all that the King's evil Counsel (for so they call it) had done illegally against them: the Parliament, likewise, published what in particular had been done by his Party against *Ireland*; and how that unhappy Kingdome had been of late robbed of many Relieves, of Cloathes, Victuals, and Arms, which the Parliament had sent them, by the King and his Party.

While these Writings on both sides lasted, the King removed often, to gather strength, and in several places made Speeches to the Countries, with many Protestations of his affection to the People. At last he came to *Nottingham*, where, about the middle of *August*, he set-up his Standard-Royal. Very few People came to it, nor had the King at that time any considerable strength; nor, if the Parliament would then have seized upon his Person, could he have kept himself out of their hands.

From *Nottingham*, on the twenty-fifth of that Month, he

he sent a Message to the Parliament, by the Earl of Southampton and Dorset, and Sir John Culpeper.

In that Message, he signifieth a desire to compose the difference by a Treaty; that a certain Number of Persons sent, and enabled by the Parliament, may treat in some indifferent place, with the like number authorized by him.

The Parliament answer, That until he put them in a condition to treat, that is, until he take-down his Standard, and recall those Proclamations, wherein he calleth (a thing unheard of before) both Houses of Parliament Traytors and Rebels, they cannot, by the Fundamental Priviledges of Parliament, or by the publick trust reposed in them, or with the general good of the Realm, admit of any such Treaty.

The King denied that he advanced his Standard against the Parliament, or that he called them Rebels: but within few dayes, in his Instructions to his Commissioners of Array, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Cumberland, and the Lord Strange, he again called the Earl of Essex, Rebel and Traytor.

Thus did they contend for some time, by Declarations and Proclamations; which proved all fruitless, as to satisfying of the People; nor could this lamentable War be averted.

Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, the second and third Sons of the late King of Bohemia, were now come into England in the beginning of September, to offer their service to the King, their Uncle, whom presently he put into Commands. Prince Rupert, the elder and fiercer by nature, commanding a Body of Horse, flew with great fury through divers Countries, raising men for the King's service in a rigorous way, committing outrages on those who favoured the Parliament: Upon which the Houses fell into a debate, agreeing, that a Charge of Treason should be drawn-up against him, for endeavouring the Destruction of this State, and abusing that Court which represented it.

Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, the King's nephews, receive commissions to serve him in his army.

The King marched another way; and, passing through Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire, he commanded the Trained-Bands of those Counties to attend

tend and Guard his Person ; and when they were met, he disarmed the greatest part of them, taking as many Arms as served for two thousand men, besides good sums of Money, which he borrowed by constraint ; protesting still (as usually he did) to maintain the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, and the Priviledges of Parliament.

The Parliament's Army is assembled at Northampton.

The Lord-General Essex leaves London to take the command of it, September 9, 1642.

The Parliament-Army, raised under the Conduct of the General *Essex*, was now grown into considerable Bulk ; consisting of about fourteen thousand Horse and Foot ; their general *Rendezvouz* was at *Northampton*, where many of the chief Commanders stayed with them, expecting the presence of the General himself. The Lord-General *Essex*, on the ninth of *September*, taking his Leave of the Parliament and City of *London*, went towards *Northampton*, and was waited on by the Trained Bands, and a great number of armed Gentlemen from *Essex*-house to the end of the City, with great solemnity. The Parliament sent a Petition to the General at *Northampton*, to be by him presented to the King in a safe and honourable way ; the effect of which was, humbly to entreat his Majesty to withdraw his presence from those wicked Persons about him, and not to mix his danger with theirs ; but that he would return to his Parliament, and such-like things.

The King, intending to seize upon *Worcester*, sent Prince *Rupert* thither with some Horse ; which *Essex* fearing, to prevent the King, commanded part of his forces to march thither speedily, himself following with his Army.

Some Skirmishes happened between that party of Parliamentarians and Prince *Rupert*, before the coming of General *Essex* ; but Prince *Rupert*, when the forerunners of *Essex* his Army were in sight, with great speed fled out of *Worcester*. General *Essex*, leaving a Garrison at *Northampton*, marched to *Coventry*, which Town he also garrisoned, as likewise *Warwick*, and marched from thence with his main Army to *Worcestre*, where he made some stay.

The King at that time, with a small Body of Horse, went to *Shrewsbury*, to which place he caused a Mint

The King marches to Shrewsbury.

to

to be brought; and Coined his Plate: for many Gentlemen about that time, had, besides Money and Arms, brought Plate in unto him. At *Shrewsbury* he grew wonderful in strength; so that, within three weeks after his coming thither, from a small inconsiderable Body of Horse, he was grown into an Army consisting of about six thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, and two thousand Dragoniers.

And there very greatly increases his army.

From *Shrewsbury* the King marched along by *Coventry*, and came to *Southam*; being but a small distance from the Lord-General *Essex* his Army: from whence he struck a terror (though so far off) into the City of *London* itself; for he was then nearer to *London* by a day's march, than the General was; insomuch as that *London* made great provisions to Guard itself, and the Parliament sent twelve Companies to possess and Guard *Windsor-Castle*.

The General thought it his chief work to follow the King's Army, for fear he should march toward *London*; and, by reason of that haste, left behind him a great part of his Forces, and great Artillery.

The King perceiving that, and loth to lose so good an advantage of fighting (before the Parliament-Forces were conjoyned) turned-back against General *Essex*; who was also resolved to give battel.

A fair Champion Ground there is near *Keynton*, a Village in *Warwickshire*; and not above twenty furlongs from that Village, a great and steep hill, upon which the King's Army had spread themselves; and at the foot of that Hill, a large Plain, called *The Vale of the Red-Horse*. Here first the battel joined: the Royalists, descending cheerfully down the hill, and the Parliamentarians from *Keynton*, approaching towards them. The fight was begun with great courage, and much slaughter on both parts: on one side the Earl of *Lindsey*; on the other, the Earl of *Essex*, manfully discharging the parts both of Generals and Souldiers.

The Battle of Edgehill, or Keynton-field, October 23, 1642.

But presently after the Battel was begun, Prince *Rupert*, who commanded the Horse in the King's right Wing, fell-in with so furious a Charge upon the Parlia-

The Causes and Beginnings of

ment's left Wing, (where most of their Horse were placed) that immediately he put to flight all those Parliament-Horse, whose Foot likewise, being left by the Horse, betook themselves to flight. Prince *Rupert* following the chase far, and greedy of pillage, whilst he was busy in seizing the Carriages and Baggage of his Enemies, spent so much time therein, that the King's Victory (which was almost gotten) was by that means quite lost: for in the King's left Wing, the fortune was not equal, whom Sir *William Balfour* charged so roundly, that he broke the best Foot-Regiments, and seized upon the King's Artillery.

There was a bloody fight: in that place the King's Standard was taken, but soon lost again. There were slain and taken Prisoners many brave men, among whom *Lindsey*, the King's General, was taken Prisoner, who died, within few hours after, of his wounds.

Night parted the fight, and gave a safe retreat to both sides. Both sides challenged the Victory to themselves; for which, thanks were publickly given to God both by the Parliament and the King; for on both sides appeared some marks of Victory, as Ensigns, Cannons, and Prisoners taken. Concerning the number of the slain there was no agreement, both parties reporting too falsely: but it was thought, that of both Armies (though more of the King's side than the other), were slain in that battle above five thousand.

General *Essex* marched to *Coventry*, to refresh his Army: the King to *Oxford*, as to his Winter-Quarters. Prince *Rupert*, with a Body of Horse, flew up and down the Country Night and Day, plundering and robbing Towns and Villages; and made his Excursions so far out of *Oxford*, that he struck a terror into the City of *London* itself; insomuch, that they desired General *Essex* (who had designed to follow the King), that he would bring his Army nearer to *London*.

Essex, on the seventh Day of *November*, came to *Westminster*, (quartering his Forces in the adjacent Villages) and was received with great Honour by both Houses of Parliament, and was presented with five thou-

The Lord-General
Essex, returns to
London, November
7, 1642.

pounds as a gratuity, with a large acknowledgment of his valour and pains undergone for the Commonwealth.

Before the General departed from *London*, another bloody Battle was fought about *Brainford* *. And so happened the occasion; the Parliament, (being grieved for this unnatural War, and desirous to save the Kingdom, and recover *Ireland*,) had agreed upon a Petition for Accommodation to be presented to the King, (who was then at *Colebrook*,) by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, the Lord *Wainman*, Master *Pierpoint*, and Sir *John Ipsley*.

The King gave a fair Answer, protesting, before God, That he was grieved for his people's sufferings; and, in order to peace, was willing to reside near *London*, and receive such Propositions as they would send, and to treat with them.

As soon as the Commissioners were gone with this Answer, the King's Artillery (for so all Relations agree) advanced-forward with the Horse, throw *Colebrook*, after them toward *London*; and, taking advantage of a great Mist, which happened that Night, they marched to *Brainford*, and fell upon the Parliament's Forces that were quartered there, which was a broken Regiment of Colonel *Hollis's*.

The King's Army killed many of them, and had, in likelihood, utterly destroyed them all, if the Lord *Brook's* and Colonel *Hamden's* Regiments, that were billeted not far-off, had not come-in to their relief; who maintained a great and bloody fight against the King's Army, till both sides at Night retreated: many were slain and taken Prisoners on both sides; and both reported themselves Conquerors, as before it happened at *Keynton-Battle*.

News of this unexpected Fight was soon at *London*, where the General was sitting in Parliament, whither also the noise of their great Artillery was easily heard: he took Horse immediately, to get strength together, and relieve his engaged men; but Night had parted them, and the King was retired to his best advantages.

All that Night, Forces came out of *London* thither, so

* Or Brentford.

The Parliament sends five Commissioners to the King, to treat of an Accommodation.

The King consents to their proposal.

But, nevertheless, advances immediately against them with his army, and attacks them suddenly at Brentford, Nov. 13, 1642.

had so far encompass the King's Army, (small in comparison of them) that many hoped for an end of the War. But God was not so pleased; for the King escaped by reason of the following error: Three thousand Parliament-Soldiers were then at *Kingston*; they were commanded to leave that Town, and march speedily through *Surry*, and over *London-Bridge*, and thence through the City, to *Brainford*, to stop the Enemy's passage to *London*. A reason of that Command was afterwards given, namely, that the Lord-General was not assured of strength enough to stop the Enemy from going to *London*; nor could he be, beforehand, sure of so great a Force, as he afterwards perceived to be come to him before morning.

The King retires to his Winter-Quarters at Oxford.

Resolutions of the Parliament, in consequence of the late perfidious conduct of the King.

Thus did the enclosed King escape, and retreated through that Town of *Kingston*, which was thus abandoned by the Parliament-souldiers; and, after he had plundered the Country thereabouts, he retired safely to his Winter-Quarters at *Oxford*.

The Parliament, considering this action of the King, began to hope little upon any Treaty; resolving, That the General should speedily pursue the King's Forces, and fall upon them: and the City of *London*, to encourage the Parliament, made a Petition to them; wherein they entreated, *That they would proceed no further in the business of Accommodation, because evil counsel was so prevalent with the King, that he would but delude them; that they had heard his Forces are weak; and entreat, that his Excellency would follow, and fall upon them; the City, as heretofore, being ready to spend, with all willingness, their lives and fortunes to assisst the Parliament.*

For which Petition and Protestation, the Parliament returned thanks to the City; and, according as they desired, it was decreed in Parliament.

BOOK II.

A SHORT MENTION OF THE PROGRESS OF THIS CIVIL WAR.

THE beginnings of the Civil War, together with the Series of causes from whence it sprung, as likewise the degrees by which it grew, have been already briefly and clearly shewn. The things which remain to be unfolded, are of so great a weight, of so various a nature, and of so many pieces, that scarce any Historian (I might say, even History itself) is sufficient to weave fully together so many particulars. My intention therefore is, to make only a short mention, not a full Narration, of that Variety.

For the War went-on with horrid rage in many places at one time; and the fire, when once kindled, cast-forth, through every corner of the land, not only sparks but devouring flames; insomuch that the kingdom of *England* was divided into more seats of war than Counties; nor had she more fields than skirmishes, nor Cities than Sieges; and almost all the Palaces of Lords, and other great Houses, were turned every where into Garrisons of War: they fought at once by Sea and Land; and through all *England* (who could but lament the miseries of his Country!) sad spectacles were seen of plundering and firing Villages; and the fields, otherwise waste and desolate, were rich only and terribly glorious in Camps and Armies.

The following Summer, namely, in the year one thousand, six hundred, forty-three, proved for a long time fatal to the Parliament, and Fortune seemed to have condemned

condemned the cause of Liberty; so exceedingly did the King's party flourish in successes and Victories, and the Parliament's condition was every where low: so that those adventurers were neer to ruin, who, in the end of the contest, were victorious.

Sir William Waller,
is defeated by Lord
Wilmot, in July,
1643.

In the West, Sir *William Waller*, a parliament-chief-tain, who had gotten divers Victories, and then almost entirely vanquished Sir *Ralph Hopton*, was at last (namely, in *July*) utterly defeated by the Lord *Wilmot*, who came from *Oxford*, with an Army of the King's: and having lost all his Army, he returned to *London*. And such as the fortune of the Field was, was also the condition of Towns and Garrisons; for immediately after *Waller's* defeat, the two greatest Cities of all the West were yielded-up, *Bristol* to Prince *Rupert*, and *Excester* to Prince *Maurice*.

Bristol and Exeter
are surrendered to
the King's Troops.

At the same time, in the North of *England*, was the like success; where the Lord *Fairfax*, (who, with his valiant Son, had long and prosperously maintained the cause of the Parliament) being now over-powered by a puissant Enemy, the Earl of *Newcastle*, and almost all his Forces scattered, was driven into *Hull*, and there besieged.

Essex himself, the great General, at the same time, (his Army decreasing suddenly, some dying of sickness, others, for want, forsaking their colours) was constrained to leave the field, and return to *London*, quartering the sick and weak remnant of his Army at *Kingston*, and other adjacent places, untill a Recruit could be made for him.

The Parliamentarians were now in a desperate condition, and their strengths every where broken; on the other side, the Royalists were strong and dreadful in Arms, Men, and Horses, and conquerours of all the *West*, of *Wales*, and of the North of *England*, as far as the very borders of *Scotland*. One only Town of Note in the Midland Country, *Gloucester*, stood-out yet, faithful and constant to the Parliament, and much desired by the King; who, in great disdain that this Town, (after *Bristol* and *Excester* were yielded) should stand-out, came in person to besiege it with a great Army.

The City of Gloucester still holds-out
for the Parliament.

The Queen arrives
in England with a
store of Arms,
February 16, 1642.

The Queen was now arrived in *England*, and had brought with her great store of Arms, bought in *Holland* with the money which she had raised by pawning the

of this Civil War.

Crown-Jewels there; whose coming at this time seemed rather like to a Triumph than a War.

Gloucester not only stopt the career of the King's Victories; but made a great change in the Conditions of the sides. The City was gallantly defended against a great and flourishing Army; wherein *Massey*, the Governour, justly gained a wonderful renown; so long did he defend the City, until General *Essex* could be recruited with an Army great enough to raise the Siege, and march thither, from *London*, eighty miles.

Famous and honourable, in the judgement of all men, was that expedition of General *Essex*, who by so long a March, fighting often with great bodies of the King's Horse by the way, brought, notwithstanding, his whole Army safe to *Gloucester*, raised the Siege, relieved that Town, and in his retreat from thence encountered, and vanquished, the King's Army, in that memorable Battle of *Newbury*.

After this time the Parliament revived; of whose condition Wise men might justly have doubted, either, if the King, instead of laying siege to *Gloucester*, had marched directly with his Victorious Army to *London*; (which was then not at all fortified, and miserably distracted with factions within it:) Or, if the Earl of *Newcastle*, letting-alone the besieging of *Hull* (which likewise proved fruitless) had poured-out his numerous forces upon the Eastern associated Counties. But it otherwise pleased God, who is the only Lord of Hosts, and by whose providence all things are guided.

Both sides now, by this Victory of *Essex*, seemed to be put into an equal balance both of strength and reputation; and this sad War seemed to be, not only likely to be continued, but to be extended to a greater latitude: as, on one side, the Parliament was inviting to their assistance their brethren of *Scotland*; and, on the other side, the King was calling-in his Irish. The Scots, by a *Covenant* to be taken by both Nations for the conservation of their Religion, Laws and Liberties; the Irish, by a cessation of Arms granted by the King (a peace being also promised).

The Siege of Gloucester by the King in Person. August 10, 1643.

The Lord-General *Essex* marches from *London* to *Gloucester*, at the Head of a new Army, and forces the King to raise the Siege. September 6, 1643.

And afterwards gains a Victory at *Newbury*, September 19, 1643.

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ness) that they would bring into *England* to their assistance, an Army consisting of one and twenty thousand Horse and Foot: the Parliament engaged themselves to pay the Scots one hundred thousand pounds toward the charge of raising that Army.

The Cessation of Arms granted by the King to the Irish Rebels.

But the King dealt not so openly with those bloody Irish, in bargaining for their assistance, but by consenting to a cessation of Arms, which he pretended to be for the behoof of the English Protestants in that Kingdom: which cessation, notwithstanding, was for the benefit of the Irish Rebels; in lieu of which favour, they gave the King thirty thousand pounds.

This was that cessation of Arms so much spoken against by honest men in *London*, for that reason especially, that it was directly against a Law, and the King's faith: for it was enacted by authority of Parliament, (the King also signing the Act) in the year one thousand, six hundred forty one, *That the War against those bloody Irish Rebels should proceed, untill it were declared by Parliament, that Ireland were fully subdued, and that no peace, nor any cessation of Arms, should be made with those Rebels, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament.*

Thus was assistance brought to either side; to the King (which he especially aimed-at in this business) that English Army, which, for almost a whole year's space, had fought valiantly and victoriously against those Rebels, was now brought into *England* (within five months after that cessation) to fight against the Parliament of *England*. But, the cause being changed, the fortune of those Soldiers was likewise changed; for they had no success in *England*, but, within a short time after their arrival, that whole Army was utterly defeated; and all their chief commanders, with seventeen hundred common Soldiers, were taken prisoners by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

The Scottish Army marches into England in January, 1643-44.

The Scottish Army, that Winter following, about the middle of *January*, passing over *Tweed* came to *England*. The Earl of *Leven* was General; and, his kinsman, *David Lesley*, commanded the Horse. The snow that fell at that time covered the ground to an unusual depth, and as great a frost had congealed all the rivers; but the heat

of fighting was greater than the rigour of the air ; and the patience of Soldiers overcame the hard weather : The Earl of *Leven* marched with his forces against the Earl of *Newcastle*; who, with a great Army, possessed the Northern parts of *England* for the King ; nor did the War go-on with less vigour in other parts. In the beginning of the Spring great Armies were raised on both sides, and filled all the countries with terror ; all the following Summer, which fell in the year one thousand, six hundred, forty-four, they fought with equal fury, and almost equal fortunes ; insomuch that *England*, by the dubiousness of success on both sides, and sad vicissitude of calamitous slaughters, was made an unhappy Kingdom.

The King's fortune was sustained by brave armies in the West, under the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* ; in *Wales* under *Gerard*, and others ; in the midland Counties under Sir *Jacob Astley*, an old soldier ; other armies were commanded by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Colonel *Goring* ; and in the North, was the Earl of *Newcastle*'s great army.

The King's Forces in the beginning of the Summer, 1644.

Nor were the forces of Parliament inferior ; the chief army under the General *Essex* ; *Waller* commanded another ; the Earl of *Manchester*, to whom *Cromwell*, (a stout and successful soldier) was joined, led a strong army toward the North, where the Lord *Fairfax* and his son had good forces, and Sir *John Meldrum* not far-off ; the Earl of *Denbigh*, a stout Commander, was with a fair party about *Strafford* ; and besides these, the great Scottish army.

The Forces of the Parliament at the same time.

At the beginning of that Summer the Parliament attempted a thing of great moment, to besiege *Oxford*, or, at least, to block-up the King within that town ; which was endeavoured by two armies, that of *Essex* on the one side, and that of *Waller* on the other ; but the King deceived them both, and, with a few light horse, escaping out of the town, went to join with his greater armies.

General *Essex* marched farther into the West : but the expedition proved unhappy both to himself and the Parliament. *Waller* followed the King, but in vain : for he could not hinder his designed march ; only some skirmishes

mishes happened between parts of their forces ; but nothing was done of any great moment, until *Waller* returned with his force to encounter enemies in other places. Various were the successes in this Summer in most parts of the Kingdom : in the West, South, and Midland Counties, the King's forces prevailed above the Parliament's ; whose cause, perchance, would have been ruined, if the North had not made them amends with some notable achievements, besides one great victory.

For *Leven*, with his Scottish forces, coming the last Winter into *England*, besides the taking of some towns and forts, had much weakened *Newcastle's* army, lessening their number, not by fighting, but by enduring the sharpness of that weather, which the other could not so well do. To *Leven* the Lord *Fairfax* (after *Selby* was so miraculously taken by the valiant Sir *Thomas Fairfax*) joined himself with all his forces, to whom also the Earl of *Manchester* (after his *Lincoln* expedition) came with a gallant army.

Three Parliament-Armies, under three Generals, *Leven*, *Manchester*, and *Fairfax*, with great concord and unanimity had marched together, and with joined forces had besieged the great City of *York*, whereof the Earl of *Newcastle* was Governour ; to raise the siege, Prince *Rupert* was come with a great army out of the South ; the three Generals left their siege to fight the Prince ; under him also *Newcastle*, having drawn his forces out of *York*, served ; who, on a great plain, called *Marston-Moor*, gave battle to the three Generals.

This was the greatest battle of the whole Civil War ; never did greater armies, both in number and strength, encounter, or drew more blood in one fight. The victory at first was almost gotten by the Royalists, whose left wing (*Fairfax* his men being disadvantaged by the inconvenience of the ground) had routed and put to flight the right wing of the Parliamentarians ; but this loss was more than recompenced in the other wing, where *Cromwell* (who fought under *Manchester*) charged with such force and fury the right wing of the Royalists, that he broke the best regiments which Prince *Rupert* had, and put them all to flight : *Cromwell*, together with

The Battle of Marston-Moor, July 2,
1644

David

David Lesley, pursued them, and, wheeling-about, with his horse, came opportunely to the relief of his oppressed friends in the other wing, where they ceased not, until they had gained a compleat victory, and all Prince *Rupert's* ordnance, his carriages and baggage, were possessed by the Parliamentarians.

After this victory, *Rupert*, with the remainder of his forces, fled into the South, some of the victorious army's horse in vain pursuing him for some miles; the Earl of *Newcastle*, with some of his chosen friends, leaving *York* (of which city Sir *Thomas Glenham* took the Government) went to *Scarborough*, where, within a short time after, he took shipping for *Germany*.

The Earl of Newcastle abandons the Civil War, and retires to Germany.

The three Generals, *Leven*, *Manchester* and *Fairfax*, after this great victory, returned to besiege *York*; to whom that City soon after, upon conditions, was surrendered; after which they divided their forces, and *Leven* with his Scottish army returning into the North, about the end of that Summer, took the rich town of *Newcastle*, about the same time that the General *Essex* unfortunately managed his business in the West, and, having lost all his artillery, returned to *London*.

The Earl of Leven, with the Scottish Army, takes Newcastle.

This Summer the Queen passed into *France*, and used great endeavours to raise aid for the King her husband, among the Roman-Catholics; but those endeavours proved fruitless: yet, notwithstanding, the War in *England*, without the help of strangers, went-on with rage and blood enough.

The Queen leaves England and goes to France.

In the midst of these calamities of War, some hope of Peace began to appear (though it soon vanished again) and conditions were proposed both by the King and the Parliament; upon which, in the following *February*, (as hereafter shall be said) they both treated. The end of this year, and beginning of the next, were notably tragical in the punishment and death of eminent men; the two *Hothams*, father and son, (having been condemned for Treason, for breaking the trust of Parliament, and conspiring with the enemy to betray *Hull*, with other crimes,) after they had been imprisoned above a whole year in the Tower of *London*, were this *December* both beheaded; and Sir *Alexander Carew*, not many days before, (who was

Sir John Hotham & his Son are beheaded at London, for Treason against the Parliament, in December, 1644.

condemned

The Trial and Execution of Archbishop Laud, in January, 1644-45.

condemned for the same crime,) suffered the same punishment. Famous also, at that time, was the death of *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the crimes objected against him were too many, and of too various a nature, to be here related: four years almost had this unhappy old man been a prisoner, yet not enjoyed so much as the quiet of a prison; for oftentimes (about fourscore days) he was carried from the Tower to *Westminster*, and there arraigned in the House of Lords. So the fates were pleased, in a sad compensation, to equal his adversity, even in length of time, with his prosperity.

This *January* he was beheaded, his life being spun out so long, till he might see (which was the observation of many) some few days before his death, the book of Liturgy abolished, and the Directory, composed by the *Synod* at *Westminster*, established.

Though the King and Parliament were both thinking of a Treaty for Peace, yet the care of War was not neglected; the King being sollicitous about getting of foreign aid, and the Parliament about new-modelling their own Army.

^{The two Houses of Parliament resolve to new-model their Army.} About this business (which seemed of the highest concern) there was some debate between the Lords and Commons; the Lords were against that change, alledging, that there was no need of new Commanders, where the old ones could be accused of no fault; that men of the noblest rank were fittest to command Armies, the contrary whereof might breed confusion in the Commonwealth. The House of Commons, on the other side, (though they made a noble mention of the Earl of *Essex*, and those other Peers, which commanded in the Armies,) alledged, notwithstanding, that the Parliament-forces had been often distracted through the emulation of Commanders; from whence it proceeded, that some things, that had been very well designed, had not had a prosperous issue; and alledged likewise, that the Army would be better disciplined under one sole Commander.

They appoint Sir Thomas Fairfax the General in Chief of it.

At last, when the two Houses were agreed, a General was chosen to command the new Army, which was Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a man of eminent valour, and as much modesty; who was then absent in the North: but so great a business could not suddenly be finished. And now the time

time approached for the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, in which three heads were to be debated.

1. *Of Religion and Church-government.*
2. *Of the Militia of England.*
3. *Concerning the business of Ireland.*

But the King, before the Treaty began, used all means to assure himself of foreign aid. By Letters he urged the Queen, who was then in *France*, to solicit that King, and other Catholicks to assist him, and that the Queen Regent would detain the Parliament's ships in *France*. He was very earnest, likewise, for assistance from the Duke of *Lorrain*, that he might get into *England* that wicked Army of his, so notorious through *Germany* and *Flanders* for all Villainy; of which Army, as of that of *Marius*, when he entered *Rome*, it may be said,

The King endeavours to procure Foreign Troops to assist him against the Parliament.

— *Nulli gestanda dabantur
Signa Ducis, nisi qui scelerum jam fecerat usum,
Attuleratque in Castra nefas.*

— No man his Ensigns bore,
But who the badge of some known mischief wore,
And brought guilt to the Camp.

At last, hope was given him from the Duke of *Lorrain*, of ten thousand men; and, for bringing of these Soldiers into *England*, *Goffe* was sent into *Holland* to negotiate for shipping and other necessaries.

The King, likewise, desired assistance at that time from the bloody Irish Rebels, and, by his Letters, commanded *Ormond* to make a Peace with those Rebels, and to promise and grant to them a free exercise of their Popish Religion, and to assure them, that, if, by their assistance, he could but finish his War in *England*, he would abrogate all those Laws which had been heretofore made against the Papists there: he gave thanks likewise to *Muskerry*, *Plunket*, and others of those Rebels, promising a pardon for all that was past. But they were much troubled at the Treaty for Peace with the Parliament; not being ignorant, that one necessary condition of such a Peace must be, that the War in *Ireland* against them should be continued and

And even treats with the Popish Rebels of *Ireland* for the same purpose.

prosecuted. The King, therefore, to remove this their scrupulous fear, wrote to Ormond to this effect : That he could not refuse to make a Peace with his Parliament, merely that he might be able to shew favour to those Irish ; yet, notwithstanding, from that very consideration (if Ormond handled the matter wisely) he might raise an advantage to hasten a Peace with those Irish, in letting them know their own danger, how they were excluded from all hope of pardon by the Parliament ; For (saith he) if the Parliament and I agree upon all other conditions, it will not be convenient for me to disagree only concerning those Irish. Therefore let them take what I offer, while time is, and hasten the Peace : and, when once my faith is passed, no human force shall make me break it.

The Queen also (remaining in France) writing to her husband, seemed to grieve much, that at Uxbridge they were to treat of Religion in the first place ; affirming, That, if any thing severe against the Catholicks should be concluded, and yet a Peace should not be made, the King could not hope hereafter for any assistance from the Catholick Princes, or from the Irish, who must needs think, that after they had done their best, they should at last be forsaken. She often entreats the King, that he would never forsake the Bishops, the Catholicks, nor those faithful friends of his that served him in his Wars : and the King promiseth her, that he would never forsake his friends for a Peace, and continues to persuade her to hasten, as much as she can, the aids from France, saying, That, whilst London is distracted between the Presbyterians and Independants, both may be ruined.

The Treaty of Uxbridge, is held in February, 1644-45.

In February the Commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge to treat for Peace. For the King came, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton, Dorset, and Chichester ; the Lords Dunsmore and Capel, with Seymour, Culpeper, Gardiner, Hide, Lane, Bridgman, Palmer, and others. For the Parliament, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh : of the House of Commons, Wainman, Vane, Pierpoint, Hollis, Prideaux, Saint John, Whitlock, and

and Crew ; and besides these, six Commissioners of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland.

But nothing at all was concluded at that Treaty. The King would by no means consent to the abrogation of Episcopacy ; nor, in the second place, would he suffer the *Militia* to be taken out of his hands, which he conceived to be a chief flower of his Crown. Yet he was contented that for three years it should be governed by twenty, equally chosen out of both sides. Lastly, to the prosecution of a War against the *Irish* he could not consent, having made a cessation of Arms with them, which, in honour, he could not break.

But it is soon broken-off, and the war is renewed.

Thus, nothing at all being done toward Peace, the War must decide it. The Parliament hasten the modelling of their new Army. The Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Manchester*, and *Denbigh*, freely and voluntarily lay-down their Commissions.

The Parliament-Army is new-modelled.

The new-modelled Army of the Parliament consisted of twenty-one thousand ; namely, fourteen thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one thousand Dragoneers. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General ; *Philip Skippon*, an excellent soldier, was made Major General : Colonels of the foot-Regiments were, *Holborn*, *Fortescue*, *Barclay*, *Craford*, *Ingoldsby*, *Mountain*, *Pickering*, *Rainsborough*, *Welden*, *Aldridge* : of horse regiments, Sir *Michael Levesey*, *Sheffield*, *Middleton*, *Sidney*, *Graves*, *Vermuden*, *Whaley*, *Fleetwood*, *Rossiter*, and *Py*. The King, on the other side, had great forces under divers Commanders, to whom he distributed several Provinces : the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, with numerous forces, possessed some of the Northern parts of the Kingdom ; others were held by the Earl of *Derby*, and Sir *Madam* *Langdale* ; Sir *John Biron* and *Gerard* held *Wales* and some adjacent counties. The West was wholly possessed by three armies of his, under the several Commands of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, and Colonel *Goring*. All these three, though Generals by themselves, yet served under the name of *Charles Prince of Wales*, as their supreme General.

The several Armies of the King.

But the King, not content with so great a force of English

The King endeavours to bring over to England some of

the Popish Rebels of Ireland, to assist him against the Parliament.

English soldiers, was more earnest than before to get over the Irish Papists, with whom he had before committed the business to *Ormond*, to make an absolute Peace. But, when the King perceived that those Irish made too high demands, and that nothing was effected by *Ormond* toward the Peace in so many Treaties, and so long a time, he thought of another way, which was, to employ the Lord *Herbert of Ragland*, (son to the Earl of *Worcester*) a zealous Papist, and therefore most acceptable to those Irish Rebels. The King created this Lord *Herbert* an Earl, by the title of Earl of *Glamorgan*, and gave him full power, by his letters, to make a Peace with the Irish, and to indulge to them whatsoever should seem needful. It seemed strange to all men, when these things were brought to light, (which was before the end of that year) that such a business should be carried-on, and yet be concealed from the Lord *Digby*, (who was the Secretary for *Ireland*,) and the Earl of *Ormond*, the Lord-Lieutenant, to whom the whole management of that Peace had been before committed.

But the King, when he saw it too hard a thing otherwise to make such a Peace, as would bring a certainty of assistance from them, that he might throw all that Envy upon *Glamorgan*, impowered him, unknown to the rest; for so the Rebels, sweetened with large promises (unknown to *Ormond*) might the better admit of conditions just in show, and openly excusable, and the King might draw from *Ireland* such soldiers as would more firmly adhere to his side, and he might trust (as being the greatest haters of English Protestants, and despairing of pardon) against the Parliament of *England*.

He therefore gave letters of authority to *Glamorgan*, in these words :

The King's Commission to the Earl of Glamorgan to make Peace with the Popish Rebels of Ireland, March 12, 1644-45.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our Trusty and well-beloved Cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, Greeting. Being confident of your wisdom and fidelity, We do, by these Letters, as if under our Great Seal, grant unto you full power and authority to Treat and conclude

clude with the confederate Roman-Catholicks of Ireland, and to indulge to them all those things which necessity shall require, and which we cannot so commodiously do by our Lieutenant, nor our Self publickly own at present. Therefore We command that you do this business with as much secrecy as can be. And, whatsoever you shall think fit to be promised in my Name, that do I attest, upon the word of a King and a Christian, to grant to those confederate Catholicks, who by their assistance have abundantly shewed their zeal to Us and our Cause. Given at Oxford, under our Royal Seal, the twelfth day of March, and twentieth year of our Reign.

Nor into England only did he endeavour to bring those Irish, but into Scotland; which he effected, to the great damage of that unhappy Kingdom, by the Earl Montross, about the beginning of the year 1644. When the Scottish Covenanters came into England to assist the Parliament, Montross went to Oxford to the King, to offer his service against the Covenanters in Scotland. The King, to fit him for that purpose, created him a Marquis, and gave him his Commission, to be Lord-Governour of Scotland, and General of all his forces. The King then also sent for the Earl of Antrim, to participate with Montross his Counsels; who, entering into a confederacy with him before the King, engaged himself there, that he would send to Montross the next April into Argyleshire (whither the passage is short from Ireland) ten thousand Irish.

This promise, at the appointed time, Antrim performed in part; but was very deficient in the number of soldiers: for, instead of ten thousand, he sent scarce twelve hundred Irish into Scotland, under the conduct of Macdonald. Montross, notwithstanding, with these men, with the addition of his Atholians, made-up a sufficient thieving army; and, making sudden excursions, he fell into the neighbouring countries, laying every thing waste, robbing houses, and burning-up the corn wherever he came, insomuch that the State had need of great armies to restrain his violence; whilst the craggy mountains of Atho-

The Earl of Montrose offers the King to serve him in Scotland, by making war there against the Covenanters.

The King accepts his offer, creates him a Marquis, makes him Lord-Governour of Scotland, and General of all his Forces in that kingdom.

Montrose, with his Scottish Army, supported by a body of Papists from Ireland, under the command of the Earl of Antrim, lays-waste many counties of Scotland.

lia, and rough, woody, places there, gave safe retreat to his Highlanders and Irish.

In this manner did *Montross*, for the space almost of two years, lie within the bowels of his country like a pestilent disease; such were his retreats, and so great his boldness in excursions, that no less an army than twelve thousand men was thought sufficient to defend the Provinces against him.

But *Montross* was tossed with various turns of Fortune. The first Summer after his arrival in *Scotland*, he gave the Earl of *Argyle* a great blow, through the negligence of his men, where fifteen hundred were slain and taken by *Montross*; whereupon the Parliament of *Scotland* raised an army of ten thousand men against him, and the same Parliament proclaimed *Montross* (with some other Lords) to be a Traitor and Enemy to his Country. *Montross* afterwards received a great overthrow from *Hurry*, and was enforced to fly to his craggy retreats; and shortly after he was again beaten by *Hurry* near to *Dundee*, and actually forced to hide himself in his old receptacles; from whence, notwithstanding, on a sudden (as shall be shewed anon) he shewed himself, and from a contemptible estate grown justly formidable, he overwhelmed *Scotland* in a miserable calamity.

While the King persisted in these courses, the Kirk of *Scotland*, from the Synod at *Edinburgh*, sent letters to him, containing a serious admonition, which (because the admonition of a National Church may seem a thing of some moment) shall be set-down *verbatim*, the Preface only omitted, because long, though very humble.

THE troubles of our hearts are enlarged, and our fears encreased in your Majesty's behalf, perceiving that your People's patience is above measure tempted, and is like a cart pressed down with sheaves, and ready to break, while as besides many former designs and endeavours to bring desolation and destruction upon us, which were (and, we trust, all of that kind shall be) by the marvellous and merciful providence of God, discovered and disappointed;

our

The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland send an Admonition to the King, concerning his tyrannical and sinful conduct.

our Country is now infested, the blood of divers of our brethren spilt, and other acts of most barbarous and horrid cruelty exercised by the cursed crew of the Irish Rebels, and their accomplices in this Kingdom, under the conduct of such as have Commission and Warrant from your Majesty: and unless we prove unfaithful both to God and your Majesty, we cannot conceal another danger, which is infinitely greater than your People's displeasure. Therefore, we, the servants of the most high God, and your Majesty's most loyal Subjects, in the humility and grief of our hearts, fall-down before your Throne, and in the Name of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who shall judge the World in Righteousness, both great and small; and in the Name of this whole National Kirk, which we represent;—We make bold to WARN your Majesty freely, that the guilt which cleaveth fast to your Majesty, and to your Throne, is such, as (whatsoever flattering Preachers, or unfaithful Counsellors, may say to the contrary) if not timely repented-of, cannot but involve yourself and your posterity, under the wrath of the everliving God, for your being guilty of shedding of the blood of many thousands of your Majesty's best Subjects;—for your permitting the Mass, and other Idolatry, both in your own Family, and in your Dominions:—for your authorizing, by the Book of Sports, the profanation of the Lord's day;—for your not punishing of publick scandals, and much profaneness in and about your Court;—for the shutting of your ears from the humble and just desires of your faithful Subjects;—for your complying too much with the Popish party many ways, and, namely, by concluding the Cessation of Arms in Ireland; and your embracing the counsels of those who have not set God nor your good before their eyes:—for your resisting and opposing this cause, which so much concerneth the glory
of

of God, your own honour and happiness, and the peace and safety of your Kingdoms,—and for what other causes, your Majesty is most conscious, and may best judge and search your own conscience, (nor would we have mentioned any particulars, if they had not been publick and known) as for all which it is high time for your Majesty to sit down at the footstool of the King of glory, to acknowledge your offences, to repent timely, to make your peace with God through Jesus Christ (whose blood is able to wash-away your great sins) and to be no longer unwilling that the Son of God reign over you, and your Kingdoms, in his pure Ordinances of Church-government and Worship.

They conclude with a profession and protestation of their constancy in so just a cause, against any opposition whatsoever. This admonition of the General-Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, was sent, first, to the Scottish Commissioners at London, and by them delivered to the King's Secretary. But Ecclesiastical admonition, in the heat of war, little availed.

Of the new-modelled Army of the Parliament under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

When the Spring began, the War with great heat and courage on both sides was renewed. General Essex had laid-down his Commission, and Sir Thomas Fairfax went to Windsor to his new-modelled Army; a new Army indeed, made up of some remainder of the old one, and other new raised forces in the countries; an Army seeming no way glorious either in the dignity of its Commanders, or the antiquity of Soldiers. For never hardly did any Army go forth to War who had less of the confidence of their own friends, or were more the objects of the contempt of their enemies, and yet who did more bravely deceive the expectations of them both, and show how far it was possible for human conjectures to err. For in their following actions and successes they proved such excellent soldiers, that it would too much pose antiquity, among all the Camps of their famed Heroes, to find a parallel to this Army.

He that will seriously weigh their achievements in the following year, against potent and gallant enemies, and consider

consider the greatness of the things they accomplished, the number of their victories, how many battles were won, how many towns and garrisons were taken, will hardly be able to believe them to have been the work of one year, or fit to be called *one War*.

But whosoever considers this, must take heed that he do not attribute too much to them, but give it wholly to Almighty God, whose Providence over this Army, as it did afterwards miraculously appear, so it might in some measure be hoped-for at the first, considering the behaviour and discipline of those Soldiers. For the usual vices of camps were here restrained, the discipline was strict; no theft, no wantonness, no oaths, nor any profane words, could escape without the severest castigation; by which it was brought to pass, that in this camp, as in a well-ordered city, passage was safe, and commerce free.

The first expedition of General *Fairfax*, as it was ordered by the Committee of both Kingdoms, was into the West, to relieve *Taunton*; a town that had long, with incredible manhood and constancy, under *Blake*, their Governour, endured a sharp siege by Sir *Richard Greenville*, and seemed to emulate (though with more happiness) the fidelity of old *Saguntum*: but this work was not done by the General himself, but by Colonel *Welden*, who was sent thither with seven thousand of the new Army. *Fairfax* himself was recalled by the Committee of both Kingdoms, to go upon other action.

But, because the King had sent for Prince *Rupert* from *Wales* to come to *Oxford*, that he might join forces, and march into the field; General *Fairfax*, before he went from *Windsor*, sent *Cromwell*, with a party of horse, to hinder the King's designs; who, marching speedily from *Windsor*, with great felicity vanquished a part of the King's force at *Islip-bridge*, taking divers of the Commanders prisoners. The remainder of that party, flying into *Bletchington-House*, were there besieged, and surrendered to *Cromwell*. With the same success at *Bampton-bush*, he took *Vaughan* and *Littleton*, and defeated their forces.

The King, when Prince *Rupert* and *Maurice* were come to him with their forces, designed his march toward the East, to take possession of the Isle of *Ely*, which he hoped

A party of their horse defeats the King's troops at *Islip-bridge* and other places, under the command of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*.

hoped would be betrayed to him by some of his party there. *Cromwell*, and Major-general *Brown*, the Governor of *Abington*, were commanded to follow the King, but soon recalled, as too weak in forces to encounter the King, and to assist General *Fairfax* in besieging of *Oxford*, for then *Fairfax* was ordered to besiege *Oxford*. But the design was not good, and the Committee of both Kingdoms, though too late, countermanded it.

For in the mean time the King securely marched Northward with his Army, and took the considerable town of *Leicester*.

Fairfax, recalled from the siege of *Oxford*, (while *Cromwell* was sent-away to strengthen the Eastern Counties) with all his forces, followed the King. Nor was the famous battle long deferred, in which all men conjectured that the important Question of “What the Liberties and Laws of *England*, and what the King’s power and prerogative should hereafter be,” must be tried by the sword. *Naseby* fields, not far from *Northampton*, were the place where the fate of *England* was to be determined. The fourteenth of *June* was the memorable day : nor was the number of the Armies very unequal (the Royalists only were strongest in horse) nor the ordering of their Battaliaes much unlike : the King’s front was filled with brave troops of horse ; the foot stood in the second Body. The right wing was commanded by the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*; the left by Sir *Jacob Ashley*; other Commanders of great quality sustaining their parts.

The Battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645.

The Parliamentarian foot made a firm body in the midst. The wings were guarded by the horse, the right wing was commanded by *Cromwell*, who, to the exceeding joy of the whole army, that very night before the battle was fought, arrived there : the left wing by *Ireton*: Colonel *Rossiter*, a brave Commander, but a little before the battle began, came with his horse, and took his place with *Cromwell* on the right wing : the foot was commanded by Major-general *Skippon*, and divided into two bodies. The Parliamentarians word was, *God with us*. The Royalists, *God and Queen Mary*.

Fortune at the first (as in some other battles) seemed a while to flatter the King’s side ; for the left wing of the Parliament was worsted, and the Commander *Ireton*, receiving

ceiving two wounds, was taken prisoner, and kept so during the fight. Prince *Rupert*, with great fury, fell-in, and pursued that routed wing; insomuch that the day had been lost, if *Cromwell*, who came-on with as great force, had not in like manner routed and overthrown the King's left wing: the business seemed now in an equal ballance, and, the wings on both sides being thus scattered, they fought some time upon dubious hopes: magnanimous *Skippon* was grievously wounded, yet would not forsake the battle, but with all possible endeavours discharged his part till the victory was obtained: the *Fairfaxians* at last charged so fiercely upon the Royalists, that they no longer could endure the brunt; the horse in all disordered haste fled toward *Leicester*, and forsook the whole body of their foot, with their artillery and carriages, who, being surrounded by the *Fairfaxians*, threw-down their arms, crying for quarter, and were all taken prisoners.

This battle was the happiest of all other to the Parliament; the victory absolute, and undoubted; and almost five thousand prisoners carried to *London*; the King's Standard, and one hundred other colours were taken, with all their ordnance; and a very rich booty, a great quantity of gold and silver, and all the secret Letters of the King, came by this means into the Conqueror's hands. But so few were slain in this battle, that a reader may justly wonder, how so many prisoners should be taken, and so much wealth purchased, with the loss of so little blood; for on the King's side scarce four hundred were slain, on the Parliament's scarce an hundred. *Cromwell*, with his horse, pursued the vanquished Royalists (who fled apace, and betook themselves to divers of their own Garrisons) and, bringing-back a great number of prisoners, returned to the General, who now marched with his victorious army to *Leicester*, which was soon rendered to him. *Fairfax*, leaving a garrison in *Leicester*, (that he might make use of his victory to the good of the Commonwealth, and hinder the King from recruiting himself, to protract this sad war,) resolved to follow him close; he therefore marched Westward, that he might both pursue the King, and raise the siege of *Taunton*.

The King's Letters, taken at *Naseby*, were publickly
read

Several of the King's
secret Letters are
taken by the Parlia-
ment-army.

And afterwards publicly read at London, before a great assembly of Citizens, where many of both Houses of Parliament were present ; and leave was given to as many as pleased, or knew the King's hand (to refute the calumny of those who said the Letters were counterfeit) to peruse them all, out of which a selected bundle were printed by command of the Parliament.

And some of them are printed and published.

Reflections made on them by the people.

read in *London*, before a great assembly of Citizens, where many of both Houses of Parliament were present ; and leave was given to as many as pleased, or knew the King's hand (to refute the calumny of those who said the Letters were counterfeit) to peruse them all, out of which a selected bundle were printed by command of the Parliament.

From the reading of these Letters many discourses of the People arose. For in them appeared his transactions with the Irish Rebels, and with the Queen for assistance from *France* and the Duke of *Lorrain*; of both which circumstances we have already made some mention. Many good men were sorry that the King's actions agreed no better with his words ; that he openly protested before God, with horrid imprecations, that he endeavoured nothing so much as the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and rooting-out of Popery : yet, in the mean time, under-hand, he promised to the Irish Rebels an abrogation of the Laws against them ; which was contrary to his late expressed promises, in these words, *I will never abrogate the laws against the Papists.* And again, he said, *I abhor to think of bringing foreign soldiers into the Kingdom :* and yet he sollicited the Duke of *Lorrain*, the *French*, the *Danes*, and the very *Irish*, for assistance. They were vexed also, that the King was so much ruled by the will of his wife, as to do every thing by her prescript, and that *Peace*, *War*, *Religion*, and *Parliament*, should be at her disposal.

It appeared besides out of those Letters, with what mind the King treated with the Parliament at *Uxbridge*, and what could be hoped-for by that Treaty, when, writing to the Queen, he affirms, that, if he could have had but two more consenting to his Vote, he would not have given the name of Parliament to them at *Westminster* : at last he agreed to it in this sense, *That it was not all one to call them a Parliament, and to acknowledge them so to be* ; and upon that reason (which might have displeased his own side) he calls those with him at *Oxford*, a *mongrel Parliament*.

The King, after his overthrow at *Naseby*, fled to *Litchfield*, and frome thence he went to *Hereford*, to raise forces (especially foot, for he had still store of brave horse, that

that came to him after that battle) in *Wales*, in *Cornwall*, and in other places. But nothing at all that following year prospered with the King, Fortune inclining wholly to the Parliament-side, whose cause it appeared that God approved, by the grant of so many strange and signal victories to them: the valour of the Royalists availed not, and all their endeavours fell to nothing.

General *Fairfax*, after the battle of *Naseby*, by long marches, passed into the West. *Taunton* was relieved only by the fame of his approach; for *Goring* raised the siege, and went-away: That constant town had been reduced to great extremities; it had suffered much, and done great things against strong enemies, and could not at this time in possibility have held-out long without some relief. The Parliament rejoiced much at the delivery of that town. Three Parliament-garrisons about that time, and the foregoing year, behaved themselves with such courage and constancy, as might deserve to be celebrated in a larger history; *viz.* *Lime*, *Plymouth*, and *Taunton*; all which, (having been often besieged by Prince *Maurice*, Generals *Greenvile* and *Goring*, and other Commanders,) had not only held-out against those strong enemies, but much broken their forces.

The things which that new army, under the conduct of *Fairfax* did that following year (taking no rest all that sharp and bitter Winter) were much to be wondered-at;—how many strong towns and forts they took,—how many field-victories they obtained,—the stories of every several month will declare; of which, because they are more accurately described by other pens, I shall here only make a short mention: for within the space of one year, all the Western Counties of *England*, (great armies, under the conduct of Prince *Rupert*, and the Generals *Greenvile*, *Hopton*, and *Goring*, being utterly vanquished and brought to nothing,) were reduced to the obedience of Parliament.

In the months of *August* and *September* were taken *Bath* and *Sherborne*; and *Bristol* itself, (the greatest and most wealthy (city of the whole West,) was, by Prince *Rupert*, surrendered to General *Fairfax*.

The army also, when it was divided, by reason of the multiplicity

General *Fairfax*
marches into the
West of *England*,
and reduces it to the
obedience of the Par-
liament.

multiplicity of their work, was not less successful in the parts of it. *Winchester* and *Basing*, were taken by *Cromwell*; the *Devizes* and *Barclay*, by other Commanders: *Fairfax* himself, marching (that cold *December*) into *Devonshire*, took *Tiverton*; and, with strange felicity, stormed and took *Dartmouth*, and afterwards drove the King's armies into *Cornwall*, and in pursuing them, at *Torrington*, gave *Hopton* a great overthrow. In the month of *February*, with his victorious army, he entered *Cornwall*; and, for fear of him, Prince *Charles* fled into the Islands of *Scilly*; and, in *March* following, all *Hopton's* forces, by the Command of the Conqueror *Fairfax*, were disbanded and sent away, and the whole County of *Cornwall* was reduced to the obedience of Parliament *.

* March 15, 1645-46.

In the following *April*, *Exeter* and *Barnstable*, were surrendered to *Fairfax*; and *Bridgewater* was stormed, but the garrison was, when they yielded, taken to mercy. *St. Michael's Mount*, (the farthest angle of *Cornwall*,) was also surrendered to Colonel *Hammond*. Thus *Fairfax*, the Conqueror of the West, having fitted all things for his expedition, to make an end of the war, is marching to besiege *Oxford*: *Woodstock* having been already taken by Colonel *Rainsborough*.

But in all these months, in which the General had done such great things in the West, the other Commanders of Parliament were not unfortunate (the Fates seeming to conspire on that side), in the North, and in the midland Counties of *England*. About the midst of Summer, *Carlisle* was surrendered by Sir *Thomas Glenham*, the Governor, to the Scottish army, under the Earl of *Leven*, and a Garrison of Scots was put into that town; of which the English complained, as being against the Covenant. The Parliament also wrote to *Leven* to restore *Carlisle* to the English;

—not that they did suspect any evil from their Brethren, but that the conditions of the Covenant might be observed, and the mouths of ill-affected people might be stopped, who were too apt to cry-out, that *The Scots came into England, not as friends, but as Free booters*. And from that time the Parliament ordained to have their Commissioners (as the Scots had theirs at *London*) resident in *Edinburgh*, to be present with the Parliament of *Scotland*; and to that purpose the Earl of *Kelvin*, the Lord *Wharton*,

The town of *Carlisle*
is surrendered by the
King's Governor, to
the confederate Scot-
tish army, under the
Earl of *Leven*, June
28, 1645.

ton; and of the Commons, Sir *Henry Vane* the elder, Sir *William Armin*, Mr. *Hatcher*, and Mr. *Goodwin*, were chosen; *Glenham* with his men, after the surrender of *Carlisle*, went to *Newark*. The Scottish army, about that time marched under *Leven* to *Newark*, to besiege that town: but the Scottish horse staid not long there, being forced to return into the North, to the assistance of their distressed country. For the English Parliament, at that time, in midst of their own prosperity, were, notwithstanding, mourners for the calamity of *Scotland*,—a great, unexpected, and wonderful calamity; in which the frailty of human affairs, and the mutable condition of Kingdoms, was set-forth by a memorable example; all *Scotland*, within the space of one month, having been lost and recovered,—quite sunk, and again emergent.

The man that thus plagued *Scotland*, was the Earl of *Montross*; a man, on whom the King's hopes, at that time, so much depended, that, out of an earnest desire to join his forces to *Montross*'s, the King, with a body of good horse, marched Northward. But, by the forces of *Pointz*, *Gell*, *Rossiter*, and others, the King's Expedition was stopped, so that he could not meet *Montross*: for it had been agreed betwixt the King and *Montross*, that at the same time, he from the South should march Northward, and the other from the North, to meet him, should come Southward, to the end, that the King's horse being joined to *Montross*'s foot, might make a considerable army in those parts. But, the King's passage, though he tried many ways, was (as before said) stopped. *Montross*, mindful of his promise, broke-out into the Southern parts of *Scotland*, with greater success than could be hoped, having scarce 4000 men, Highlanders and Irish.

A place there was near to *Kilsithe*, which the craggy mountains and straitened passages had made fit for ambuses, where *Montross* had seated himself. Thither the army of the State, confident in their number, whilst un-advisedly they pursued the thieving Highlanders, fell into the cunningly-disposed ambuses of *Montross*'s men, and were cut-off with a miserable slaughter. Above five thousand of them were slain, and none almost escaped, but those, whom the wearied conquerors had not strength to

Scotland is brought into great Distress by the ravages committed by Montrose.

The King endeavours to join him with a body of Horse, but is opposed by the Parliament's forces.

Montrose gains a great victory over the army of the Scottish Covenanters at Kilsithe. In July, 1645.

kill : for the cruel *Montross* spared none, crying-out,
They had no need of prisoners.

This overthrow of *Kilsithe*, at one battle, would have utterly ruined the State of *Scotland*, if *David Lesley*, about a month after, (by giving an absolute overthrow to *Montross*) had not restored it : for after this so unexpected a defeat, the State of *Scotland* had no army for a reserve, or force to stop the passage of the Conqueror ; to whom almost all their towns presently yielded. The Papists and malignants, and all neuters, with those that had before dissembled their affections, now joined with him ; the rest were cut-off : all the chief Nobility of the Covenanters were forced to fly into *England*.

A publick Fast and humiliation was kept by the English, for the calamity of their brethren of *Scotland*; General *Fairfax*, and others of the chief Commanders, wrote to *Leven*, *That they accounted the calamity of Scotland to be their own ; and that, if their affairs at home would permit, and the Parliament would command it, they would earnestly undertake that war, and venture their bloods as freely for the Scots as for the English, till the Enemies of the three Kingdoms were fully vanquished.*

But is afterwards intirely defeated by David Lesley at Selkirk, in September, 1645.

But *Montross* his cruel reign lasted not long ; scarce a whole month. For, to vindicate *Scotland*, *David Lesley* was sufficient ; who, with his horse, coming thither, at *Selkirk*, gave *Montross* so total a defeat, that it seemed fully to recompence *Kilsithe* ; the victory was gotten in an hour's space, and, (as it was observed by a *German* writer) upon the same day that the Queen of *England*, at *Paris*, was singing *Te Deum Laudamus* for *Montross* his victory at *Kilsithe*.

Thus was *Scotland* recovered before the King could come to *Montross* : which, notwithstanding, the King soon after attempted, and, marching Northward with a strength not contemptible, (having *Gerard* and *Langdale* with him,) came to *Routenheath*. His design was, that, if he could not join with *Montross*, yet, at the least, he might raise the siege of *Chester* : for the King was exceedingly solicitous to obtain the possession of that city, because it was the most convenient haven to receive the transported Irish, whom he so long in vain expected. But that expedition proved most unfortunate to the King ; for, in a battle fought upon

The King marches northwards, in order to relieve the City of Chester, which is besieged by the Parliament's forces.

upon *Routenheath*, where *Pointz* was Commander of the Parliament's Army, the King was vanquished, and eight hundred of his men were slain. But is defeated at Routenheath by General Pointz.

Nor was the Lord *Digbie*'s expedition to *Montross*, more fortunate, who, in the following month, together with *Langdale*, having got together one thousand horse, marched into the North to that purpose. For, at *Sherburn* in *Yorkshire*, he was beaten and put to flight by *Pointz*, *Copley*, and other Parliamentarians; and afterwards, at *Carlisle*, he was defeated by *Brown* and *Lesley*; and having lost all his forces, fled into the Isle of *Man*, to the Earl of *Derby*; from whence, shortly after, he passed into *Ireland*. When *Digby* was defeated at *Sherborn*, other secret letters and papers of the King's were taken, whereby some designs of his were laid-open, and some things more clearly discovered about his transactions with the *Danes* *Irish*, and others. The Royalists, at *Oxford*, did much blame *Digby* for his carelessness, in having carried such papers with him into a battle, as would hardly have been safe enough in the strongest fort; especially, when they remembered what a stir was made about the letters taken at *Naseby*.

Lord Digby is defeated at Sherborn, and some Letters of the King are taken.

Digby was now in *Ireland*, and (about the end of December) together with *Ormond*, treating about a peace with the *Irish*; when, on a sudden, the King's affairs began to be endangered there, by the divulging of *Glamorgan*'s secret transactions with the *Irish Rebels*, of which we spake before; *Ormond* and *Digby*, fearing lest, if this discovery should grow too general among the people, all the former rumours should find credit; as, namely, "that the King was Author of the *Irish Rebellion*, and sought to confirm *Papery*"; from whence a general revolt of all the *Protestants* might be feared; and, although *Digby* thought *Glamorgan* to be an unadvised man, yet he could not suppose him to be so foolish as to have undertaken such a thing as that without any warrant at all. Therefore it was agreed betwixt them, that (for fear lest, when this discovery should be grown more general, it might be too late to vindicate the King) *Digby* should presently accuse *Glamorgan* of *Treason*. But *Ormond* and *Digby* were both troubled with this fear, (because at that time three thousand *Irish* were promised to go-over to the relief

of *Chester*) lest by this unseasonable vindication of the King, *Chester* might be lost, for want of transportation of those forces. But, when they understood that, according to *Glamorgan's* compact, those Irish were not to go for *England*, before the King had made good the conditions which *Glamorgan* promised, and confirmed the peace; and, while they were consulting about this perplexed business, it was told them, That the Protestants of *Dublin*, upon that news, were in a great mutiny, and the worst was feared in a few hours, unless the danger were speedily prevented; *Digby* was enforced to make haste, and accuse *Glamorgan* (who was not at all dismayed, knowing it was only to deceive the people,) of High-Treason. *Glamorgan* therefore, with great confidence and alacrity, went to prison, affirming, *That he did not fear to give account at London, or before the Parliament, of what he had done by the King's warrant*: but it was wonderful to see what a change in the Protestants at *Dublin*, this feigned accusation of High-Treason suddenly made; and that they who before murmured, were now appeased.

But yet there remained another difficulty to be got over; *Ormond* was fearful, lest the Irish, incensed by this injury done to *Glamorgan*, should suddenly fly to arms, before the King's forces were ready for them. To prevent that danger, he wrote to *Musherry* concerning the reasons of this action, and the extreme necessity; and, withal, he seemed to approve the conditions for peace, as the Rebels had proposed them, and sent them to *Kilkenny* to be further discussed, with some dubiousness of the event. This might spend time, until some new hopes of relieving *Chester*, or otherwise supplying the King, might arise.

But all these devices nothing availed the King: all his designs were frustrated; nor could he ever bring into *England* an army either of Irish Rebels, *Lorrainers*, or *Danes*, (God providing better for that Kingdom) until at last all his forces, every where, were vanquished, and wholly subdued, by the Parliament. For, in the following month of *February*, that very City of *Chester*, for which he had been so sollicitous,—a City so often besieged, and now long defended by *Biron*,—came into the power of the Parliament;

The City of *Chester*
is surrendered to the
Parliament's army.
In February, 1645-46,

Parliament; for *Biron*, the Gouvernour, upon honourable terms, delivered it up to *Breerton*.

Nor was the King's side more lucky in any county of *England*; for, besides the whole West of *England*, which (in that Winter, and the following Spring) had, by many field-victories, and gaining of towns, been conquered by *Fairfax*; in the midland counties also, in the North, and in *Wales*; in several battles, all that time, the Royalists were vanquished by eminent Commanders of the Parliament, such as were *Massey*, *Pointz*, *Brown*, *Rossiter*, *Mitton*, *Gell*, *Breerton*, *Langhorn*, and others; and in the month of *March* (which was the last noted field-victory) Sir *John Ashley* himself, the King's General, was vanquished by *Morgan* in a memorable battle, and taken prisoner, with one thousand, six hundred, of his men. *Ashley*, when he was taken, spake aloud these words: *You have done your work, and wholly vanquished the King's party, unless your own dissensions raise them again.*

Sir John Ashley, the King's General, is defeated at Stow in Gloucestershire, March 22, 1645-46.

At this time *Newark*, the strongest garrison of the King's, (which had long, and much, infested the adjacent countries,) was straitly besieged by *Leven*, *Pointz*, and *Rossiter*; and General *Fairfax*, after reducing of the West, having provided what was fit, hastened to besiege *Oxford*, the head of the war. The King having now no garrisons left, but *Banbury*, *Wallingford*, *Worcester*, *Ragland*, and *Pendennis*; all which, in a short time after, were also taken, and could glory only in this, that they had held-out after *Oxford*.

Newark is besieged by the Parliament-Forces, in November. 1645.

The besieged *Newarkers*, though the plague raged in the town, and they began to want victuals, yet sustained themselves upon hopes of some dissensions that might arise between the English and the Scots.

For now the Scots began to complain of want of pay, of the neglect of Church-government, and the Covenant: the Parliament answered, that that Scottish army, in two years space had received above two hundred thousand pounds for pay, besides a vast sum of money, which they had by force extorted from the poor, weeping, inhabitants of the Northern counties; and, besides that, their army had not satisfied the expectation of the English, but had lain idle in the best time of the year;—if they were so pre-

Dissensions arise between the Scottish confederate Army and the English Parliament.

cise in observation of the Covenant, why then, contrary to the Covenant, did the Scots put garrisons into *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth*, and *Carlisle*; neither was it just in the Scots to object any thing in the case of Religion, seeing the Parliament are now labouring in it, being a business which requires time, and mature deliberation.

From these jars the King hoped for some advantage to himself; and now *Oxford* began to be blocked-up by *Ireton* and *Fleetwood*, and every day the coming of *Fairfax* himself, and a straiter siege of that City, was expected. Therefore, before this should happen, the King resolved to go-out of *Oxford*, and, communicating his mind to some inward Counsellors, he pitched upon the Scottish camp, as the place, to which, above all others, he thought fit to resort, for the safety of his person, and the restoration of some part of his former regal authority. To the Scots, therefore, as they lay before *Newark*, the King sent *Montruel**, the French Ambassador; and himself soon after, (under the disguise of a servant of his favourite, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, with a cloak-bag behind him,) escaped, unknown, out of *Oxford*, and came to *Newark*.

From this enterprise the King was dissuaded by some, (who loved the safety of their country,) and was entreated rather to deliver himself to *Fairfax*; which might, in probability, put an end to the War. But the King was obstinate in his design, not doubting but that, (dissensions daily growing between the two Nations,) he should be the more welcome to the Scots, and safe from harm, and be able, by this means, either to make a Peace upon his own conditions, or to kindle a new War.

The King came, first, to *Montruel's* house, and from thence to *Southwell*, into the Scottish camp. The besieged *Newarkers*, having received information of the King's coming, and being brought into great straits by the besieging army, harkened to conditions, and surrendered the town.

The Scots seemed to be amazed at the King's unexpected coming to them, and so signified the matter to the English Commissioners, then present with them upon the place. Letters were immediately written of it to *London*, and to *Edinburgh*. The English Parliament required the Scots to detain the King at *Southwell*. But they, contrary

The King goes out of Oxford in disguise, and repairs to the Scottish Army, in May, 1646.

* Or Montreuil.

The Town of Newark is surrendered to the Scottish army.

to

to that Order, carried him away to *Kelham*, where a greater part of their army lay, and soon after, without expecting any further Orders from the Parliament of *England*, removed their camp, marched Northward, and carried-away the King with them to *Newcastle*.

The Scottish Army carry the King away with them to Newcastle upon Tyne.

The Scots excused their departure, because, *Newark* being yielded, no work was left for them ; but alledged, *That, as the King came to them of his own accord, unexpected, so he followed their Army, neither being entreated, nor forbidden, by them*. But they seemed to hasten their departure, by reason of a rumour (whether true or falsely pretended) that *Cromwell*, with all his horse, was marching towards them.

But the English, upon this, complained much, both against the Scots and the King ; To the Scots, they objected the *breach of the Covenant and Treaty* ; To the King, they imputed it, *As a great obstinacy and despight toward the English Nation, whom he had so long injured, that now, in his low ebb, he should, being in England, leave the Parliament of England, to go to the Scots, their Mercenaries : if he desired Peace, why did he not embrace it ; being offered upon such conditions, as, besides his necessities, the common safety of his People invited him to ? rather than go-about to kindle new fire between the two confederate Nations.*

In the beginning of May, General *Fairfax*, with his whole army, came within sight of *Oxford*, and disposing his quarters round about the City, summoned the Governor Sir *Thomas Glenham*, to surrender it: *Glenham* answered, that he would, first, send to the King, and, when he knew his mind, would do what was fitting : this answer was not allowed. Nevertheless, *Fairfax*, considering within himself (which was also the opinion of his Commanders) that it was likely to prove a long siege, being a City excellently well-fortified, and a strong garrison in it, consisting of at least five thousand men, most of them old soldiers, stored with provisions, arms, and ammunition, for a great while ; yet was put into hope of sooner obtaining it, by intelligence which he had gotten out of letters, and by some Spies, that, within the City, they were much divided in their opinions ; and the greater part (especially those of the

Sir Thomas Fairfax lays siege to Oxford, in May, 1646.

Nobility) desired that it should be surrendered, that they might obtain (while it was yet time,) honourable conditions. Therefore they began to treat; and not only between the Army and the City, but in the Parliament at *London*, it was debated, and at last decreed, That the besieged should rather have the best conditions, than that their precious army should be consumed before so strong a place, whilst, in the mean time, many things might fall-out ill to the Commonwealth.

But the chief reason of granting such large conditions was, that the conquering army, it being now Mid-summer, might be transported into *Ireland*, to vindicate that afflicted Country against the barbarous and bloody Rebels. But that pious intention of the Parliament was quite frustrated by the King's going to the Scots, with whom at times there were some jealousies; and that the King went to the Scots for that very purpose, it was believed, by letters (which were intercepted afterwards) written to *Ormond*, before he went-out of *Oxford*, stating, “*We hope that this design of ours, though it may seem dangerous to our person, will prove advantageous for Ireland, in hindering the Rebels (meaning the Parliament) from transporting any forces into that Kingdom.*”

The King's motive for delivering himself to the Scottish Army was, in part at least, to favour the Popish Rebels in *Ireland*.

The City of *Oxford* is surrendered to the Parliament-army, upon honourable conditions, June 24, 1646.

Thus *Oxford* was surrendered; and, at the appointed day, all the soldiers of that garrison marched-away by *Fairfax* his army, with great quiet and modesty on both sides. The Duke of *York* was honourably conducted to *London*, where two of the King's children remained: thither also went all the Noblemen; nor was it denied to any of the besieged to go to *London*. But the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, being commanded to go out of *England*, prepared for their departure.

The Great Seal of *England*, with other Ensigns of Majesty, were layed-up in the Library, and, being afterwards carried to *London*, was, by the command of Parliament (for the Parliament, when the Great Seal, three years before, was carried-away to the King, had made a new one) broken in pieces, together with the other smaller Seals.

Charles, Prince of Wales, retires to the Island of Jersey.

Prince *Charles*, about that time, distrusting the condition of his side, fled from *Scilly*, with a few of his inward Counsellors, and went to *Jersey*, that from thence he

he might pass into *France* to the Queen, his Mother. While the Prince remained in *Jersey*, the Commissioners both of *England* and *Scotland*, intreated the King, that the Prince his Son might continue within his Dominions, lest if he should go into *France*, it might be inconvenient at this time, and an obstruction to the desired Peace. But the King, promising them that he would think of it, wrote in the mean time this short letter to the Prince.

CHARLES, I write to you only that you should know where I am, and that I am in health, not to direct you at this time in any thing; for what I would have you do, I have already written to your Mother, to whom I would have you be obedient in all things, except Religion (about which, I know, she will not trouble you), and go no whither without her, or my, Command; write often to me. God bless you.

Your loving Father, C. R.

This letter was intercepted going from *Newcastle* to *Jersey* in a small vessel, and was read in Parliament, to their great grief.

Soon after the surrender of *Oxford*, followed the end of this fierce War. For *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, *Pendennis*, and *Ragland*, yielded also to the Conquerors. Peace now seemed to be restored to *England*; but they had no security. For the Parliament (having vanquished the common Enemy) were grievously troubled with Factions among themselves, and divided under the unhappy names of *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. Nor was it only in those things which concerned Church-government, but in the transaction of almost all other businesses, that they debated fiercely, and were divided in their votes.

The same difference (namely of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*) troubled not only the Parliament-House, but the City, the Country, and some of the Camps, seeming a thing that threatened danger; and the Parliament feared that *Massey's* forces (which had deserved very well of the Commonwealth) being quartered about the *Devizes*, might, under that name, make a Mutiny: wherefore

Great dissensions arise in the Parliament between the Presbyterians and the Independants.

A body of Horse, of 2500 men, under the command of Major-general Massey, are disbanded at the Devizes in Wiltshire.

wherefore General Fairfax was sent from Oxford into the West to disband (the War being ended) those forces of Massey, being two thousand, five hundred, horse : which thing was quietly done, within eight days, and all those soldiers, with ready obedience, left their Colours, although they were not fully paid at that time ; for which Massey (as for other things) was much commended, in being careful, by advising his soldiers, that this business, without any difficulty, should be so ended. The War being now quite finished, Fairfax, the victorious preserver of the English Parliament, returned to London, about the midst of November. All good men longed to see that great soldier, (whom they could not but admire,) by whose valour they were delivered from the worst of evils, and were now in expectation of an happy Peace.

Sir Thomas Fairfax returns to London, and receives the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his eminent services to the State, in the late Civil War. November 14, 1646.

The next day after he came to London ; that he might see the gratitude of the Parliament, the House of Peers sent their Speaker, Manchester, whom the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, and many other Nobles accompanied ; who congratulated his return, and gave him great thanks for his most faithful and happy services to the Commonwealth.

When the Lords were gone, Lenthal, the Speaker of the House of Commons, with about three hundred Members of that House, came to congratulate the General ; to whom Lenthal made a speech, wherein he discoursed of the greatness of his actions, extolling them, by examples of the most great and famous Heroes of ancient times. “ *You, (said he), noble General, shall all posterity admire and honour ; and the People of England, since they can give you no thanks equal to your merits, do freely confess themselves forever indebted to you, as the happy instrument of God, and finisher of our Wars, with incredible success.* ” To which the modest Fairfax made a short reply, Acknowledging himself unworthy of so great an honour, and giving most humble thanks to the Parliament, accounting it his greatest happiness in this world, to be made by God, instrumental for the good of his Country.

But the General staid not long at London, being presently after sent to carry the money for the Scots into the North,

North, of which we shall speak afterwards ; in the mean time we will return to the King and the Scots.

On the sixth of May, 1646, long before the surrender of Oxford, when the Parliament of England understood that the King was with the Scots, when the Scots also had disobeyed their Orders ; which were, *That they should detain the King at Southwell, and that Ashburnham, with the rest of his followers, should be sent to London,* (of which the Scots obeyed neither, letting Ashburnham and the rest escape, and carrying the King into the North) the Parliament, after a long Debate of both Houses, at last voted, *That the person of the King should be disposed-of by the authority of both Houses of the Parliament of England.*

But the Scots, excusing themselves, and refusing to deliver-up the King, a great dissension happened between the two Nations, which did much animate the Royalists, and seemed dangerous to the two Kingdoms. Many complaints were made upon this occasion, and many hard invective writings were published, on both sides, for the space of divers months.

The Scots alledged, that he was no less King of Scotland than of England ; and that therefore their Kingdom had some right to the disposing of him : The English affirmed, that his person was to be disposed-of by the authority of that Kingdom in which he then was ; and they set-forth, as a very strange thing, *that a Scottish Army, paid by the Parliament of England, and which, by the Compact of both Kingdoms, was to be governed by Commissioners of both Kingdoms upon the place, should, notwithstanding, receive the King of England, without the consent or knowledge of the English Commissioners, and carry him away to Newcastle, a town of England, and there keep him, without the consent of the Parliament of England.*

In the midst of these great dissensions ; which, notwithstanding, the prudence of some men did so well moderate, (whilst the common enemy and factious spirits sought to aggravate them) that they proved not pernicious to the Kingdoms, the main business, and things necessary for the Common good, were unanimously and friendly transacted

Disputes between the
Scots & the English,
concerning the dis-
posal of the person
of the King, May 6,
1646.

They at length agree to send to the King, at Newcastle, nineteen Propositions of Peace, July 15, 1646.

transacted between the two Nations: and, among other things, concerning the sending of propositions to the King, *for a firm and well-grounded Peace*, it was debated, and at last agreed, that nineteen Propositions (so many there were) should be sent to *Newcastle*, to the King; which, because they are long, and fully recited in a larger History, I will not relate in this Epitome.

These Propositions were sent-away to the King upon the fifteenth of *July*, one thousand, six hundred, forty-six, and presented to his hands at *Newcastle*, by the Commissioners of both Houses of Parliament, namely, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, and the Lord *Mountague*, of the Peers, and six of the House of Commons; the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* being present and consenting to them.

And that the King might conceive himself to be dealt withal like a King, and not as a vanquished man, and a captive, this preface, by the consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, was set before the Propositions.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, in the Name, and on the behalf, of the Kingdom of England and Ireland; and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, in the Name, and on the behalf, of the Kingdom of Scotland; do humbly present unto your Majesty the humble desires and Propositions for a safe and well-grounded Peace, agreed-upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively; unto which we do pray your Majesty's assent; and that they, and all such Bills as shall be tendered to your Majesty in pursuance of them, or of any of them, may be established, and enacted for Statutes and Acts of Parliament, by your Majesty's Royal Assent, in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively.

The Lords and Commons, Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*, staid long with the King at *Newcastle*,

The respectful Address to the King, prefixed to the said Propositions.

castle, humbly entreating him, that he would vouchsafe to sign and establish those Propositions, being not much higher than those which had been offered to his Majesty at *Uxbridge*, when the chance of War was yet doubtful. The same thing did the Commissioners of the Parliament in *Scotland* humbly entreat ; and the like did others daily, who came with renewed supplications to that end, from the Parliament sitting at *Edinburgh*.

But in vain were the supplications of both Kingdoms ; the King persisted obstinately in denial of his Assent. But daily he seemed to take exceptions at some particulars ; whereby time was delayed for some months, and the affairs of both Kingdoms much retarded : which happened at an unseasonable time, when not only the dissensions between the two Nations about garrisons, money, and other things, were justly feared, but also, in the Parliament of *England*, and City of *London*, the Divisions were then increasing between the two Factions of the *Presbyterians* and the *Independents* ; from whence the common enemy began to swell with hopes, not improbable. And this, perchance, was the cause of the King's delay.

But those hopes of the enemy soon vanished ; and this very averseness of the King did in some measure compose the dissensions of the Parliaments ; insomuch that they began unanimously to consult, how they might settle the affairs of both Kingdoms (since it could not otherwise be) without the King. Therefore, it was debated in the Parliament of *England*, to pay the Scots for their assistance in this War, and at last agreed, that the Scots should receive four hundred thousand pounds. Half of that sum, namely, two hundred thousand pounds, was to be paid at present ; upon receipt of which, the Scots were to deliver-up *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, and *Newcastle*, to the Parliament of *England*, according to the Compact. It was also debated, though with much time and difficulty, where the King's person should be disposed, in case he did, absolutely and utterly, refuse his Assent to the Propositions ; at which meeting it was freely granted by the Parliament to the Scots, that they might carry the King (if they pleased) to *Edinburgh*. But that the Scots refused, affirming, that, by his presence in an unsettled

Kingdom,

The King refuses to agree to the said Propositions.

N. B.

The Parliaments of the two Nations, at length resolve to settle the affairs of both Kingdoms without the King's consent.

The King is left at liberty to chuse in which of the two Kingdoms he will reside.

N. B.

Kingdom, new commotions might arise; they rather desired (which was also the King's desire) that he might be carried into the Southern parts of *England*, and live in some of his Palaces near *London*, which they thought more convenient for treating of a Peace, as if *England* were not in the same danger by his presence. So that, in all that whole debate, they seemed to contend, not who should have the King, but who should not have him.

Whilst these things were transacting, and the King daily was humbly entreated, by both Kingdoms, to grant his Assent to these Propositions; the Earl of *Louden*, Chancellor of Scotland, about the end of *August*, when the Commissioners of both Kingdoms were present, made an Oration to the King, which, because it opens the business in some measure, shall be recited.

A Speech addressed
to the King by the
Earl of Louden,
Lord Chancellor of
Scotland, about July
28, 1646.

" YOUR Majesty was pleased on *Monday* last, to call the
" Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and, impart-
" ing the Propositions to them, to promise that you would
" likewise impart your Answer before you sent it; but so
" short is the Commissioners' prefixed time, and of so great
" moment (either to the safety or ruin of your Crown and
" Kingdoms) is your Majesty's Answer, that we should be
" wanting both to God and our own trust, if we should not
" represent to your Majesty, how necessary it is (in this con-
" juncture of time) That you should grant your assent to these
" Propositions; and what an incurable malady, and sudden
" ruin, must needs follow upon your denial. I shall begin with
" the disease, and speak after of the remedy:—The differences
" betwixt your Majesty and Parliament (known to no man
" better than yourself), are at this time so high, that (after
" so many bloody battles) no composure can be made, nor
" a more certain ruin avoided, without a present pacifica-
" tion. The Parliament are in possession of your Navy, of
" all the Towns, Castles, and Forts of *England*; they enjoy,
" besides, Sequestrations, and your Revenue. Soldiers and
" monies are raised by their authority, and, after so many
" victories and successes, they have a standing, strong,
" Army, who, for their strength, are able to act any thing in
" Church or Commonwealth, at their own pleasure. Besides,
" there

" there are some so fearful, others so unwilling, to submit to
" your Majesty, that they desire neither yourself, nor any of
" your Issue, to reign over them. The people, weary of War,
" and groaning under taxes, though they desire Peace,
" yet are so much against the pulling-down of Monarchy,
" (under which they have long flourished,) that they which
" are weary of your Government, dare not go-about to throw
" it off, until they have, (once at least,) offered Propositions
" of Peace to your Majesty, lest the vulgar, (without whose
" concurrence they cannot perfect the work,) should fall
" from them. Therefore, when the whole People, weary
" of War, desire security from pressures and arbitrary
" rule: the most Honourable Houses of Parliament have
" consented to offer these Propositions to your Majesty,
" without which, the greater part of the people do suppose,
" the Kingdom can neither enjoy Peace nor Safety. There-
" fore, your Majestie's friends, and the Commissioners
" of Scotland, though not without some reluctance, were
" forced to consent to the sending of these Propositions, (for
" else none had been sent,) or else incur the publick hatred,
" as enemies to Peace. Now, Sir, if your Majesty, (which
" God forbid,) should deny to sign these Propositions, you
" would lose all your friends, both in City and Country; and
" all England, as one man, would rise-up against you; it
" may then be feared, (all hope of reconciliation being taken
" away) that they may cite you, depose you, and set-up
" another Government. Moreover, they will require of us
" to deliver your Majesty to them, to restore their Garrison-
" Towns, and carry our Army out of England. Lastly, if
" your Majesty persists in denying, both Kingdoms will be
" compelled to agree-together for their mutual safety, to
" settle Religion and Peace without you; which, (to our un-
" speakable grief,) would ruin your Majesty, and your Pos-
" terity. But, if your Majesty shall despise the counsel of
" us, (who wish nothing more upon earth than the establish-
" ing of your Majestie's Throne,) and by obstinacy lose
" England, your Majesty will not be suffered to enter Scot-
" land, and ruin that. Sir, We have laid our hands upon our
" hearts, we have prayed to God to direct us, and have
" seriously considered of the remedy for these mischiefs: but

" we

" we can find nothing else, (as the case now stands,) which
 " can preserve your Crown and Kingdoms, than that your
 " Majesty should sign these Propositions. In some things,
 " (we confess,) they are higher than we, (if our wish might
 " have gone,) would have made them : But, seeing that no
 " other way is left to cure the Kingdom's wounds, and con-
 " solidate the ruptures between your Majesty and the Par-
 " liament : we do, in all humility and loyalty, advise you
 " Majesty, that, out of your gracious goodness, you would
 " assent to them, as being the only remedy left, to procure
 " a firm and happy peace, from whence also, many happi-
 " nesses will accrue to you," &c.

But neither this Oration of *Louden*, nor all the endeavours of both Parliaments, could alter the King's mind. Yet did not the Commissioners give-over their hopes, but persisted in intreating ; so that many months were spent in this business, and the time consumed till the midst of Winter ; in which space they could not persuade the King to hear any Ministers of the Synod preach before him, being constant only to his own Chaplains.

Upon which they began to endeavour, that amity might be preserved between the two Nations, and that the two Kingdoms (things standing as they did) might be peaceably settled without the King.

The Scottish Army receives the sum of 200,000/. in part of the pay due to them from the English Nation ; in January, 1646-47.

Therefore, after some debate between the Parliament of *England*, and the Commissioners of *Scotland*, they at the last agreed upon the aforesaid sum, namely, that two hundred thousand pounds should be forthwith paid to the Scots ; which money, being told-out, was, by General *Fairfax*, with part of his Forces, conveyed out of *London*, who afterwards committed the business to Major-General *Skippon*. And he, with six regiments, marched-away in the midst of Winter, and in *January* came to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* with the money.

And thereupon delivers-up the three towns of *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, & *Newcastle*, to the English Parliament, and marches quietly home into *Scotland*.

The Scots, when they had received their money, according to the Compact, delivered-up the English garrisons, *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, and *Newcastle*, into the Parliament's hands, and marched quietly home into *Scotland* ; they delivered also the King to the English Commissioners, to be carried into the South, who was received with

was received with great respect and honour, by the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, and the rest of the Parliament-Commissioners, and by them waited-on with great observance, and an honourable guard, to his Palace of *Holmby*, in Northamptonshire. These things were done in the month of *February*, at which time the Earl of *Stamford*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Ashurst*, of the House of Commons, were sent Commissioners by the Parliament into *Scotland*, that at *Edinburgh* they might treat with the Scottish Parliament about the Common Affairs.

Though the King's party, which had fought against their Parliament and Liberties, were absolutely subdued, yet a quiet liberty and security could not be suddenly obtained by the victory. For, the Civil War being ended, a dissension, more than Civil, arose among the Conquerors, which seemed therefore more sad to all good men, because it was between those who, before, had, with most united affections and desires, thrown their Lives and Fortunes into hazard against a common Enemy, and whom the same cause, the same fervour of reforming Religion, and restoring Liberty, and the same prayers, had linked-together in the nearest bond of conscience.

By this division of the friends of Liberty into two parties, under the names of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, which was continually encreasing, the minds of men came to be embittered against each other beyond all measure : one side complained, that the Covenant was broken ; the other, that it was not rightly interpreted by them, nor so as that it could any way be a vindication of the cause undertaken for the publick safety. On both sides were men of great reputation.

Yet did they not, at first, so far dissent, but that both sides seemed forward to vindicate the Common Cause against the King's party, who were called *Malignants*. It must be a longer time, that must by degrees so far work up-on the consciences of that side, which seemed weakest, as to make them cleave to the Malignants for a prop. The Malignants were ready to join with either side, that they might ruin both. For they themselves (though disarmed), were now become the greatest number ; especially by the unconstancy of many men, either upon particular grievances, or on account of the burden of taxations. A great num-

The Parliament of England sends three Commissioners to Edinburgh, to treat with the Parliament of Scotland, in February, 1646-47.

Violent dissensions prevail between the Presbyterians and the Independents.

ber of the Citizens of *London*, not of the meanest, but highest rank, had revolted from their former principles; insomuch that the inhabitants of that City (all the King's Garrisons having been, by *Fairfax's* bloodless victories, emptied into it) came to be in such a condition of strength as that the Parliament, without the Army's help, could not safely sit there. These dissensions of *Presbyterian* and *Independents* (because the motives and intentions of men are not enough known) our purpose is to touch with more brevity than the actions of open War and plain hostility; though they also are here shortly mentioned.

It were a work of too much length and difficulty, to recite how many Calumnies were raised by the other Faction against the Army (which had before been so much admired) as being maintainers of the Independent Faction; how divers Petitions were drawn-up, and subscriptions eagerly sought in the County of *Essex*, against this army; which was then quartered about *Walden*, in the month of *April*. And in the Parliament itself it was so far, and in that manner, debated, concerning disbanding of that army; that the soldiers (being now taught to value their own merits, conceived themselves much injured; and, in the month of *May*, presented a Petition to their General; in which they desire to be satisfied, not only for their due pay, as soldiers, but in things concerning the publick Liberties, which they had fought-for, and which, they said, belonged to them as free-born sons of the Nation: of which Petition great complaint was made by those of the other Faction. These, and some other altercations, wrought at last so far, as that the soldiers, about the beginning of *June* (upon what design, or what jealousies, I leave my readers to judge) took-away the King from *Holmby*, out of the Parliament-Commissioners' hands, and carried him along with them to the army, so that his person was to be in some Town or Palace near to their Quarters. When this was known, it was ordered by both Houses of Parliament, (and their Order was sent to the General,) .

The Army grows discontented, and presents a Petition to their General. In May, 1647.

A party of them seizes the King's person at *Holmby*, and carries him to the quarters of the Army. June 4, 1647.

Votes of the Parliament thereupon.

1. *That the King should reside at Richmond.*
2. *That he should be attended by the same persons that he was attended-by, at Holmby.*
3. *That Rossiter's Regiment should guard him.*

But

But the next day, from the General, and his Council of Officers, was brought to the Parliament, an Impeachment against eleven Members of the House of Commons, i.e. (honoured names, many of them) *Hollis, Stapleton, Waller, Glyn, Massey, Maynard, Lewis, Clotworthy, Long, Harley, and Nichols.* Wherein divers things were objected, concerning the Relief of *Ireland*, obstructing Justice, and acting somewhat against the Army, and the Laws of *England*. The Impeached Members declared themselves ready to answer to any crime that could be objected against them. But another request came from the army, that those Impeached Members, until they had brought-in their answer, might be secluded from their Seats in Parliament. This, at the first, was not granted, as a thing judged to be too high, and too much against the privilege of Parliament. But, when the army iterated their desire, those accused Members, by leave of the Parliament, made a voluntary secession for six months. Concerning that Order of Parliament, that the King should go to *Richmond*, the General desired to be excused, intreating them not to command that, until things were more quiet, and that they would appoint no residence for the King nearer to *London*, than they would allow the quarters of the army to be. After which the King was conveyed to *Royston*, thence to *Hatfield*, not long after to *Causum*, while the army quartered at *Reading*. From whence, when the General with his army marched to *Bedford*, the King went to the Earl of *Bedford's* house, near *Wooburn*.

About that time was rumoured a very dangerous conspiracy in *London*, of Citizens, Apprentices, and others, against the Army; namely, that many Citizens, and Apprentices, and other people, had privately enlisted themselves to make a force against the army. The General, hearing of this, certified the City's Commissioners, (who were then with him at the head-quarters) of it; who there-upon made haste to *London*, to inquire into, and to quiet, those troubles. But at that time, between the two embittered Factions, nothing but suspicions and tumults could be observed. These jealousies daily increasing, on July 22, the Parliament made an Order to change that *Militia* of the City, which had been es-

The Army impeaches eleven Members of the House of Commons. June 16, 1647.

The impeached Members voluntarily secede from Parliament for six months. June 26, 1647.

blished upon the fourth of *May*, and put others, which were affected to the Army, in their room. Upon which Order, the Citizens of that Faction, were wonderfully incensed, and presented a petition to the House on the twenty-sixth of *July*, which, being read, seemed rather a command than a petition.

This was carried, and followed by a dissolute multitude of Citizens, Apprentices, and other unruly persons, who pressed to the very doors of the Parliament, and cried out, in a threatening way, “ That before the House rose, they must order according to their Petition;” and so far did their violence prevail, that they extorted an Order for the re-establishing of the former *Militia*. But, not content with that, when the House was rising, they took the Speaker, and rudely thrust him again into his chair, detaining both him, and the rest of the Members, there, (an unheard-of violation of Parliament!) until they extorted from them another Order, which was, *That the King should come to London*.

The Parliament is adjourned to July 30, and on that day several of the Members meet, and make the Orders required by the Citizens.

After this rude violation, the Houses adjourned until *Friday* next, which was the thirtieth of *July*. Upon which day, both the Speakers being absent, (for they, with the greatest part of the Members, had left *London*, and withdrawn themselves to the Army) new Speakers were chosen, the Lord *Hunsdon*, and Mr. *Henry Pelham*, a Barrister; by whom Orders were made that day,

1. *That the King should come to London.*
2. *That the Militia of London should be authorized to raise forces for the defence of the City.*
3. *Power was given to the same Militia to choose a General for those forces.*

It was likewise ordered, that the aforesaid eleven Members, impeached by the army, should return to their Seats in Parliament.

The Citizens, armed with these Orders, presently proceed to raising of forces, of which they elected *Massey* to be their General.

In the mean-time the Lords and Commons, who had left *London*, consulting with the General and chief Commanders of the army, made an Order, *That all Acts and Decrees,*

But others, of the Members of both Houses, who were more in number than the former, had fled for protection to the

Decrees, that had passed on the 26th of July, and since, should be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Council of the Army. It was likewise Decreed, that the General with his Army should march to London.

Army. And these Members annul all the Orders made by the former Members.

But when the Citizens heard of the army's approach, their stomachs being somewhat abated, and their opinions so much divided in Common-Council, that it appeared impossible for them suddenly to raise any forces to oppose the army ; they sent to the General for a Pacification, which (by consent of the Members of Parliament then with him) was granted to them, upon these conditions :

1. *That they should desert the Parliament now sitting, and the Eleven Impeached Members.*
2. *That they should recall their Declaration lately divulged.*
3. *They should relinquish their present Militia.*
4. *They should deliver-up to the General, all their Forts, and the Tower of London.*
5. *They should disband all the Forces they had raised.*

And do all things else which were necessary for the publick tranquillity. All which things, none of them daring to refuse, were presently ratified.

On the sixth day of *August*, the General with his army came to *Westminster*, and with him the Speakers of both Houses, together with the rest of the Lords and Commons, whom he restored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers, in the name of the whole Parliament, gave thanks to the General ; they made him Commander of all the Forces in *England* and in *Wales*, and Constable of the Tower of *London* ; a moneth's pay was likewise given as a gratuity to the army. The next day General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Major-General *Skippon*, and the rest of the Commanders, with the whole army, marched through *London*, from the Western part thereof, to the Tower, where some Commands were changed, and the *Militia* otherwise settled. Then, lest the City should swell with too much power, her *Militia*, by Order of Par-

General Fairfax, with his Army, marches to London, and replaces the fugitive Members in their seats. August 6, 1647.

liament was divided, and Authority given to *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the *Hamlets* about the Tower, to exercise and command their own *Militias*.

Thus was the *Presbyterian* Faction depressed; and the Parliament, thus restored, were very intent upon the business of annulling all those Acts, which, in their absence, and by that tumultuous violence, had been made, and in punishing the Authors of those Seditions.

BOOK III.

A SHORT MENTION OF THE ORIGINAL AND PROGRESS OF THE SECOND WAR.

THE Parliament restored, the *Militia* of *London* settled, and the other Commands fitly disposed, the General *Fairfax* marched out of *London*, and quartered his army in the towns and villages adjacent, (only leaving some regiments about *Whitehall* and the *Mews*, to guard the Parliament,) his head-quarters being at *Putney*. The King, about the middle of *August*, was brought to the most stately of all his Palaces, *Hampton-Court*.

While the King remained at *Hampton-Court*, he seemed to be not at all a restrained man, but a Prince living in the splendour of a Court ; so freely were all sorts of people admitted to his presence, to kiss his hands, and do all obediences whatsoever. None were forbidden to wait upon him. Nor did the people from *London* only, and the adjacent towns, resort to the King, but his servants also from beyond the seas ;—even those, who, by Order of Parliament, had been forbidden, and voted delinquents, such as *Ashburnham*, *Berkley*, and the rest ; who now, by the Permission of the army, had safe recourse to him. But upon what reasons, or design, this Permission was granted, many wondered.

Stirred-up by these examples (if not sent-for by the King) the Lords formerly of his Council at *Oxford*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, with the Lord *Seymour*, about the beginning of *October*, came to the King, as if

The King is brought
by the Army to his
Palace at Hampton-
Court. August 15,
1647.

to consult and give their advice to him concerning the Propositions of Parliament, or other business. The Parliament were displeased at this thing; neither would the Army long suffer it, considering that the King had not yet, in any thing at all, given satisfaction to the Parliament. Whereupon those Lords, being told of it, after two days stay at *Hampton-Court*, returned to their own houses.

Propositions for Peace are again made by the Parliament to the King at Hampton-Court, on the 7th of September, 1647.

On the 7th day of *September*, Propositions agreed-upon by both Houses of Parliament, (the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concurring also) were sent to the King at *Hampton-Court*. To which they did humbly beseech his Majesty, that he would give his answer within six days. The Commissioners appointed for this business of the Parliament of *England*, were, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord *Montague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Sir *John Holland*, and Major-General *Brown*. For the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and Sir *Charles Erskine*.

But the King refuses to assent to them. September 13, 1647.

The King, although he refused (as before) to grant the Propositions, wrote, notwithstanding, an Answer to the Parliament, in which he says, That to some things he can assent, namely, about establishing Presbytery for three years, about granting the *Militia*, as it was before offered to him. But in the other things, he must altogether dissent. He affirms, that he could rather harken to the Proposals of the Army, (for the Army had lately published some Proposals *, in the manner of the Parliament-Propositions, about settling the Peace of the Kingdom) and desired the Parliament that they would consider of those Proposals.

The Commissioners of Scotland now advise that the King should be permitted to reside in London, and there treat with the Parliament. November 5, 1647.

The Parliament, not yet deterred by these often denials of the King, fell upon debate about making Propositions to him again. When the Commissioners of *Scotland* residing at *London* (after that *Louden* and *Lanerich*, who came newly out of *Scotland*, had talked privately with the King at *Hampton-Court*) sent Letters to the Parliament, in which they require that the King may come to *London*, and then personally treat with the Parliament about the things controverted; those very Scots, who not long before, both in their Orations and Letters,

* Concerning these Proposals of the Army to the King, see Ludlow's Memoirs.

Denied

Denied it to be just, or convenient for the Commonwealth, that the King, before he had given satisfaction and security to the People, should be admitted to London, or to any Personal Treaty with the Parliament. Those very Scots, who denied to receive the King into *Scotland*, for fear he might raise commotions in their Country, would now have him brought to *London*, a City filled with Malcontents, and fit for any tumults, in which the Parliament itself, without the guard of an Army, could not safely sit. That which moved them to this demand (as they alledged) was, because the King had been taken from *Holmby*, against his will, and without the consent of Parliament, by the violence of soldiers, and still remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom which was thought fit for a King, treating about a business of so great moment.

At the end of their Epistle they seem content that he may stay (if *London* be denied) at *Hampton-Court*, so he be not under the power of the Army, but in such a condition, as that the Commissioners of both Parliaments may have a free recourse to him. But the Parliament were again framing Propositions (with some alterations) to be sent to the King, when, lo! on a sudden, they were stricken with an unexpected Message, That the King was privily fled out of *Hampton-Court*: To which purpose, Letters came about midnight from *Cromwell* to the Speaker. For on the twelfth of *November*, whilst the Commissioners of Parliament, and Colonel *Whaley*, who commanded the guard, expected when the King should come out of his chamber to supper, and wondered at his long stay; at last, about nine of the clock, some of them going-in, and not finding the King, they found his cloak left there, and a letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners, to be by them communicated to both Houses of Parliament, in which letter, after he had discoursed somewhat about captivity, and the sweetness of liberty, he protested, as before God, that he had not taken this design of withdrawing himself, to disturb the public peace, or any treaty tending to the establishment thereof: but only to preserve his own safety, against which, he understood, there was a treasonable

The King escapes
from Hampton-
Court, on the 12th
of November, 1647.

sonable Conspiracy. But, toward the end of his letter, he useth these words ;

Now, as I cannot deny, but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement; so I take God to witness, that the publick Peace is no less before mine eyes. And I can find no better way to express this my Profession, (I know not what a wiser man may do) than by desiring, and urging that all chief interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction; as, for example, The Army (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose, are not difficult to consent) ought, (in my judgement) to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences, and have an Act of Oblivion, or Indemnity (which should extend to all the rest of my Subjects) and that all their Arrears should be speedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindered from using such lawful and honest means as I shall choose. To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honour, and safety, and I shall instantly break through this cloud of retirement, and shew myself ready to be, Pater Patriæ,

Charles Rex.

But the Parliament, being much at first troubled with this unexpected news of the King's departure, at last, lest the Kingdom's peace should thereby be disturbed, they ordered, that men of fidelity should be speedily sent to all the sea-ports, lest the King should pass into any foreign country. And when tidings (though false) were brought unto them, that the King was concealed within the City of London, they ordered, *That, if any man should closely detain the King's Person, and not reveal it to the Parliament, he should be punished with the loss of his estate and life.*

In a few days after, news is received that he is gone into the Isle of Wight, and is in the custody of Colonel Hammond.

This cloud soon dissolved, and the Parliament were informed, by Colonel *Hammond* (who was newly, by consent of both Houses, made Governour of the Isle of *Wight*) that the King was come into that island, and had delivered himself into his protection. *Hammond* signified himself to be

be ready to obey the Parliament's commands in all things. The Parliament, commanding *Hammond*, did also command him with all diligence to guard the King ; but to wait upon him with all respect and honour ; promising, that they would take care that provisions of every kind should not be wanting, nor money to defray the King's expences.

While the Parliament were again deliberating about Propositions to be sent to the King, in the Isle of *Wight*, a Letter of great length from the King, superscribed, " To the Speaker of the Lords' House, to be communicated also to the House of Commons," was read upon the eighteenth day of *November*, in which he delivered his sense and opinion concerning many things contained in the former Propositions, especially concerning the abolition of Episcopacy ; he disputed out of the dictates of his conscience much, and gave touches also of the other matters. Of all which, he hoped, that he should satisfy the Parliament with his reasons, if he might personally treat with them. Therefore, he earnestly desired to be admitted with honour, freedom, and safety, to treat personally, at *London*. The Commissioners of *Scotland*, with great vehemence, also pressed, that this desire of the King might be granted,

The Parliament weighing these things, lest they should betray themselves and friends, by admitting of a personal Treaty with the King in *London*, so malignant a City, before he had given any satisfaction or security, (which had before been the opinion of the Scots) after so many mischiefs done to the Commonwealth, resolved upon a middle way.

Therefore, after a long debate, on the twenty-sixth of *November*, they concluded, that four Propositions, being drawn-up into the form of Acts, should be sent to the King, in the Isle of *Wight*, to sign ; which, when he had signed, he should be admitted to a personal Treaty at *London* ; that his Majesty, giving the Kingdom security, by passing these four Propositions, there may be a personal Treaty with his Majesty, for passing the rest of the Propositions. The four were these :

The King writes a letter to the Parliament from the Isle of Wight, concerning the Propositions for Peace lately made to him.

The Parliament, in answer to his letter, desires him to give his assent to four very important preliminary Bills, as a necessary groundwork of the other articles of the treaty.
November 26, 1647.

1. That

1. That a Bill be passed into an Act by his Majesty, for settling of the Militia of the Kingdom.
2. That a Bill be passed for his Majesty's calling-in of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations against the Parliament, and those who have adhered to them.
3. For passing an Act, that those Lords who were made after the Great Seal was carried to Oxford, may be made incapable of sitting in the House of Peers thereby.
4. That power may be given to the two Houses of Parliament, to adjourn, as the two Houses of Parliament shall think fit.

The Commissioners of *Scotland*, would in no wise give their consent that these four Bills should be sent to the King, before he treated at *London*; therefore, in a very long Declaration, they protested against it. Notwithstanding that, the Bills were sent by Commissioners of both Houses of Parliament, and, on the twenty-fourth of *December*, presented to the King, at *Carisbrooke-Castle*. But the King, understanding the mind of the Scots, and the Factions in *London*, absolutely refused to sign those Propositions; and the Commissioners, with this denial, returned to *London*.

On the third of *January*, the House of Commons debated of this denial of the King: the dispute was sharp, vehement, and high, about the State and Government of the Commonwealth; and many plain speeches made of the King's obstinate averseness, and the people's too long patience; it was there affirmed, that the King, by this denial, had denied his protection to the people of *England*, for which only subjection is due from them; that, one being taken away, the other falls to the ground. That it is very unjust and absurd, that the Parliament, (having so often tried the King's affections) should now betray to an implacable enemy, both themselves and all those friends, who, in a most just cause, had valiantly adventured their lives and fortunes: that nothing was now left for them to do, but to take care for the safety of themselves and their friends, and settle the Commonwealth (since otherwise it could not be) without the King.

The King refuses to pass these four Bills.

The Parliament there-upon resolves, that no further ad-

Therefore, on the 17th of *January*, a Declaration and Votes passed both Houses of Parliament, in this manner.

"The

" The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after many Addresses to his Majesty, for the preventing and ending this unnatural War, raised by him against the Parliament and Kingdom, having lately sent four Bills to his Majesty, which did contain only matter of safety and security to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the composure of other differences to a personal Treaty with his Majesty; and having received an absolute Negative, do hold themselves obliged to use their utmost endeavours, speedily to settle the present Government, in such a way, as may bring the greatest security to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And, in Order thereunto, and that the Houses may receive no delay nor interruptions in so great and necessary a work, they have taken these Resolutions, and passed these Votes following, yiz.

" The Lords and Commons do declare, That they will make no further Addresses or Applications to the King.

" Resolved, &c. By the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, that no Application or Address be made to the King by any Person whatsoever, without the leave of both Houses.

" Resolved, &c. By the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, that the Person or Persons, that shall make breach of this Order, shall incur the Penalty of High Treason.

" Resolved, &c. That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any Message from the King: and do enjoin, That no Person whatsoever, do presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any other Person."

Within few days after these Votes of Parliament were published, a Declaration of the General and general Council of the Army, (their Head-Quarters being then at Windsor) was made and humbly presented to the Parliament; for which Declaration, Thanks were returned from the Parliament to the General and Council of the Army: which Declaration is in the words here following.

The General and Council of the Army make a publick Declaration, that they will adhere to, and stand by, the Parliament, in proceeding according to their late votes. January 9, 1647-48.

A De-

A Declaration from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the General Council of the Army, of their Resolutions to adhere to the Parliament, in their Proceedings concerning the King.

“ Notwithstanding the high violations of the Kingdom’s Rights and Liberties, and the endeavours to swallow-up the whole interest of the Kingdom into the power and will of a King, which the present King’s Reign hath afforded; we have observed, that the Parliament was, (through his necessities) and against his declared intentions to the contrary, called, but in a condition of vindicating the Kingdom in those things, hath yet enacted, with that tenderness towards the King, (as to any thing of right that might be in him, or duty towards him) as that in the Protestation, Covenant, and many Declarations published by them; that have held-forth a careful regard to the preservation of the King’s person, and just rights, with, and in the preservation and vindication of the publick interests, and safety of the Kingdom, and by the whole service of their actions, and their manifold humble Addresses to him, for the preservation and settlement of all, they have, we conceive, abundantly demonstrated the reality and innocence of their intentions towards him: in all which, we have still understood the sense and intention to be no other, than that the preservation of the King’s person, and particular rights, should be so endeavoured, as it might be consistent with, and not destructive to, those great and more obliging publick interests of Religion, and the Rights, Liberties, and safety of the Kingdom; and not otherwise.

“ And, accordingly, in the late Declarations and Papers, that have occasionally past from this Army, as to our desires of settlement to the Kingdom, we have expressed our real wishes, that, if the King would, in things necessary, and essential to the clearing, settling, and securing of those publick interests, give his concurrence to put them past future disputes, then his Rights should be considered and settled, so far as might be consistent with those superior interests of the publick, and the security thereof for the future.

" And that by an Address to the King, upon things so purely essential to those publick ends, it might once more come to a clear trial, whether we could, with the preservation of the King's person, and in particular interests, have a security to the other, hath been our earnest desire, our great expectation, and our endeavour, that we and others might be in a patient waiting for such an issue.

" Now, in the Parliament's last Addresses to the King, we find they have insisted only upon some few things, so essential to that interest of the Kingdom, which they have hitherto engaged for; as that without betraying the safety of the Kingdom, and themselves, and all that engaged with them in that cause, without denying that, which God, in the issue of the War, hath been such a Testimony unto, they could not go lower, and (those things granted) they have offered to treat for all the rest.

" Thus we account that great business of a settlement to the Kingdom, and security to the publick interest thereof, by, and with, the King's concurrence, to be brought unto so clear a trial, as that (upon the King's denial of those things) we can see no further hopes of settlement or security that way.

" And, therefore, understanding, that upon the consideration of that denial, added to so many others, the Honourable House of Commons, by several Votes, upon Monday last, have resolved not to make any further address or application to the King, nor receive any from him, nor to suffer either in others: We do freely declare for ourselves, and the Army, That we are resolved, through the grace of God, firmly to adhere to, and stand by, the Parliament, in the things voted last Monday, concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for settling and securing of the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and against him, or any other, that shall hereafter partake with him."

Windsor, Jan. 9, 1647.

The

The Parliament publishes a Declaration, setting forth the reasons of their late Votes of Non-addresses to the King. February 25, 1647-48.

The Parliament also made a publick Declaration, about the beginning of *February*, for satisfaction of all men in general, concerning the causes of their Votes; in which (besides the King's former misdeeds, related before in other Remonstrances) they declare how often they had treated with him; That, although they were never forced to any Treaty, yet no less than seven times they had applied themselves to the King with Propositions, containing nothing but what was necessary to the peace and security of the Kingdom: How they had offered him Propositions at *Oxford*, afterwards at *Uxbridge*, and then (after he was quite vanquished in war) at *Newcastle*; and, lastly, after the departure of the Scots, at *Hampton-Court*. All which hath been perpetually refused by him.

By such a Declaration did the Parliament endeavour to appease the unquiet minds of people. But no arguments nor Decrees could serve to assuage their fury, nor prevent the storms which were then arising. Force only was required, and wise Counsel to search-out conspiracies, and suppress the tumults which were feared. Therefore part of the army was quartered about *Westminster*, the *Mews*, and other places of the City: And the month before these high transactions, some Lords and Commons were chosen out of both Houses, to be a Committee for the safety of the Commonwealth, and sat together at *Derby*-house, in the same place where the Committee of both Kingdoms (*England* and *Scotland*) had sitten before. To this Committee power was given to suppress tumults and insurrections; and, to that purpose, to raise forces, as they saw occasion.

The Members of this Committee were seven Lords, namely, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Warwick* and *Manchester*, the Lords *Say*, *Wharton* and *Roberts*; and thirteen of the House of Commons, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Fines*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Senior and Junior, Sir *William Armin*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. *Brown*.

The Parliament, though victorious, though guarded with a gallant army, no forces visibly appearing against it, yet, was never in more danger. All men began, in the

The Parliament appoints a Committee of Safety, consisting of seven Lords and thirteen Members of the House of Commons, to sit together at *Derby*-house, to suppress tumults and insurrections.

the Spring, to prophecy, that the Summer would be a hot one, in respect of wars, seeing how the countries were divided in Factions, the Scots full of threats, the City of *London* as full of unquietness. And more sad things were feared, where least was seen; rumours every day frightening the people, of secret Plots, and treasonable meetings. From whence every man began to foresee slaughter and war, as Mariners used to foresee a rising tempest:—

—*Cum longo per multa volumina tractu
Æstnat unda minax, flatusque incerta futuri,
Turbida testantur conceptos æquora ventos.*

*The threatening waves in tracks voluminous
Boil up; the Seas, by blasts uncertain blown,
Betoken many winds conception.*

The King's Party began to swell with great hopes, and look upon themselves, not as vanquished, but as Conquerors; nor could they forbear vaunting every where, and talking of the King's rising, and the ruin of the Parliament. The same thing seemed to be the wish of those whom they called Presbyterians, who were ready to sacrifice themselves and their Cause to their hatred against the Independents;—who wished that quite undone, which themselves could not do; and desired, that Liberty might be quite taken-away by the King, rather than vindicated by the Independents.

The King himself, (though set-aside, and confined within the Isle of *Wight*,) was more formidable this Summer, than in any other, when he was followed by his strongest armies. The name of King had now a further operation, and the pity of the Vulgar gave a greater Majesty to his Person. Prince *Charles* also, by his absence, and the name of banishment, was more an object of affection and regard to those vulgar people, than he had ever been before; and by his Commissions (which his father privately sent him) seeming to be armed with lawful power, did easily command those that were willing to obey him; and, by commands, under his name, was able to raise (as will afterwards appear,) not only tumults, but wars.

The beginning was by tumults, and in the City; from whence, also, the following insurrections, in the near counties, 9, 1648.

Tumults in the City
of London in favour
of the King. April

counties, had their original ; and was, by Apprentices, and loose young people, playing in *Moorfields*, upon a Sunday, the ninth day of *April*, who, despising the authority of Magistrates, set upon a Captain of the trained Bands, and with stones beat him out of the fields ; and taking-away his colours, with them they marched, a disorderly rout (gathering up many of the scum of the people as they passed) to *Westminster* ; crying out, as they went, that they were for King *Charles*. But they, by a troop of horse, out of the *Mews*, were quickly scattered. But running back, and getting into *London* (while other disorderly-fellows came into them) they remained all night in a whole body, filling the City with fears ; so that the Lord Mayor, a man cordial to the Parliament, was enforced to escape privately out of his house, and fly into the Tower. In the morning, General *Fairfax*, to crush this mischief in the beginning, before the wound was grown incurable, by the concourse of wicked men, sent a part of his army into the City ; who, vanquishing the *Seditious*, and driving them into *Leaden-Hall*, (of whom some they carried-away Prisoners) with great valour, and no less prudence, quieted the tumult. For delivering the City from so horrid a danger, thanks were given to the General, both by the Parliament, and the honest sober Citizens, and a thousand pounds in money, given, as a gratuity, to the soldiers.

The people of the County of Surry present a seditious Petition to the Parliament. May 26, 1648.

In the every Petitions also, at that malignant time, nothing but sedition and war was contained; as appeared in those of *Surry* and *Kent*. From *Surry*, a body of about three hundred men came to *Westminster*, on the twenty-sixth of *May*, bringing a Petition to the Parliament, in which they did not so much entreat, as command, in high words, *That the King shou d presently be restored to his former dignity, and come to Westminster, with honour, freedom, and safety, to treat personally there about all controversies ; that the army should presently be disbanded ; and the free people of England, be governed by their known Laws and Statutes* ; with other things of this nature. Nor would these *Surry*-men, that brought the Petition, endure any delay ; no, not so much as till the Parliament could debate about it ; but, being extreme insolent

solent, cursing, and railing openly at the Parliament, they set-upon the soldiers, who were their guard; of whom, some they hurt, and one they killed. Upon which, a troop of horse from the *Mews*, and some foot, were sent to help their fellows, who soon vanquished and scattered those country-fellows, and slew some of them. This was the end of that seditious Petition of *Surry*.

At that time, the Kentish-men were coming with a Petition of that nature; who, being in number sufficient to form a good army, seemed, afar off, to threaten the Parliament. They had been the more stirred, by reason of a severe punishment of some of their countrymen, who had lately raised a sedition about *Canterbury*: against these Kentish-men the Parliament provided no smaller defence, than the General *Fairfax* himself, who, with seven regiments, marched-away to *Blackheath*, near *Greenwich*; of whose success we shall speak afterwards:

The Kentish-men prepare a like seditious Petition to be presented to the Parliament.

The Parliament had before designed, that General *Fairfax* should march into the North, to defend those parts; but nearer dangers detained him in the South. For, at this time, scarce any part of *England* was quiet; in every place tumults, insurrections, and wars, were threatened. To quell all these, (which was wonderful) one only army sufficed, by the great blessing of God upon it. Which army, as, when it was conjoined, in one year, *Anno Dom. 1646*, it quite vanquished and broke all the King's flourishing strength, and reduced the Kingdom to the obedience of Parliament; so, at this time, with no less fortitude and felicity, (though it was divided into parts, in all corners of the Kingdom,) it continued victorious: so that Fortitude and Fortune might seem, in that Army (as the soul in an human body,) to be all in the whole, and all in every part. For, besides those light and soon-suppressed insurrections of *Suffolk* in the East; and of *Stamford*, in the midland part; of the Kingdom, by Colonel *Wait*, and others; and of *Cornwall* in the West, by Sir *Hardresse Waller*; more great and formidable insurrections happened in the Northern parts, and in *Wales*.

In the beginning of *May*, the North was infested by some of the King's Commanders. Sir *Thomas Glenham*,

Insurrections in the North of England against the Parliament.

(who had before governed so many Garrisons of the King's, as *Carlisle*, *York*, and *Oxford*, and lost them all;) had now, with no better success, seized upon *Carlisle*. And, at the same time, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* (of whom we spake before) had seized upon *Berwick*, and fortified it. The strong castle also of *Pomfret*, was then taken by the Royalists, who, by treachery, had slain the Governor thereof. To manage these wars in the North, *Lambert*, a stout Commander, and Major-general of those Counties, was left with some regiments of the *Fairfaxian* army.

Dangerous Insurrec-
tions against the
Parliament in Wales,
under Colonels Poy-
er, Powel, and Lang-
horn, in March,
1647-48.

But dangers, of a more horrid degree, seemed to threaten the Parliament in *Wales*; not only from ancient, and formerly-vanquished enemies; but from those, who had before been Parliament-Commanders, and had now forsaken their side and cause; namely, from the Colonels, *Poyer* and *Powel*, and from him that had often so well deserved of the Parliament, *Langhorn* himself. *Poyer*, who had hitherto kept the Town and strong Castle of *Pembroke*, for the Parliament, now (strengthened by the concourse of malignant people) with great animosity maintained it against them. *Langhorn*, a Commander of great esteem, in those parts, had raised a gallant Army, under whom Colonel *Powel* served. In a small time (the *Welch* coming in apace to him) *Langhorn's* Army was so increased, that he mustered 8000 men. Both *Langhorn* and *Poyer* as it afterwards appeared entered into this War, by a Commission received from Prince *Charles*; whose auspices proved no better than his Father's. Colonel *Horton*, with a small part of the *Fairfaxian* Army, and some other raised forces, went against them with three thousand men. But, it pleased God, the giver of all victories, that the success was not according to the number; for *Horton*, on the eighth day of *May*, between the two towns of *Fagans* and *Peterstone*, encountering with *Langhorn*, totally routed, and put to flight his whole Army, consisting of eight thousand, horse and foot. A great slaughter was made upon the place, and the number of prisoners (being three thousand) equalled the number of the victorious Army; among whom were taken about an hundred-and-fifty

Colonel *Langhorn* at
the head of 8000
men, is defeated with
great slaughter by
Colonel *Horton*, near
Peterstone, on the
8th of May, 1648.

fifty officers, a great number of colours, and a quantity of arms, with all their ordnance.

There was scarce a more happy victory (as the condition of things then stood) to the Parliament, than this of *Horton's*; for which, by Order of Parliament, a publick thanksgiving to God, was celebrated. *Langhorn* and *Powel* escaping, by flight, got to *Poyer* into *Pembroke* castle. *Cromwell* himself, about the beginning of *May*, was sent into *Wales*, with some regiments, who, on the eleventh day of that month, came to *Chepstow* castle, which he resolved to besiege; but hastening to *Pembroke*, he left Colonel *Ewer* at *Chepstow*, who, within fifteen days, took that castle, and killed *Kemish*, to whom before the place had been betrayed; and *Cromwell*, on the twentieth of *May*, came to *Pembroke*.

Poyer, relying on the strength of the place, refused all conditions, knowing besides, that time was now precious to the Parliament, being then entangled in so many difficulties at once. But *Cromwell*, not being accustomed to despair of any thing, prepared for the siege, being much furthered in his work from the sea, by the great industry of Sir *George Ascough*, who commanded there a squadron of the Navy. Sir *George Ascough*, with much care and diligence, from time to time, furnished Lieutenant-general *Cromwell* with great guns, with provisions, of all sorts, from *Bristol*, and other places, and every thing necessary for a siege.

While these things were acting in *Wales*, General *Fairfax*, sent (as before was said) with seven regiments, to suppress the Kentish Risers, pursued them towards *Rochester*. A great number of Kentish-men, not far from *Gravesend*, were gotten together into an army; with whom were above twenty Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of the County, and among them divers who had been formerly commanders of the King's armies. Though they were more in number, they durst not give the General battle; but some marched-away to *Maidstone*; a few kept-together about *Rochester*; another part of them went to *Dover*, and besieged that castle. To raise that siege, the General sent Colonel *Rich* and Sir *Michael Levesy*; who, very happily, performed that work.

Lieutenant-general
Cromwell marches,
at the head of some re-
giments, into *Wales*,
to suppress the In-
surrections there.

He lays siege to the
town of *Pembroke*,
which is defended by
Colonel *Poyer*, May
20, 1648.

General *Fairfax*, with
seven regiments,
marches into *Kent*, to
suppress the great
insurrection there.
May 29, 1648.

He besieges and takes the town of Maidstone, notwithstanding a very vigorous resistance.

The General himself, marched with his Army to *Maidstone*. Into that town about two thousand of the Risers were gotten, and resolved to make good the place. The General, likewise, prepared to besiege them. In no chance of war before, was the virtue of *Fairfax*, and his soldiers, more tried, nor a victory bought with greater danger. For, after that the soldiers had broke into the town (which was done with great difficulty), they found a war in every street, and ordnance planted against them, and were put to fight for every corner of it. At last the General, with the loss of forty of his men, took the town, two hundred of the enemy being slain, and about fourteen hundred taken prisoners; four hundred horse, and two thousand arms were taken. One thing was wonderful, that an army of many thousand Kentish-men, more in number than the General's army, coming from *Rochester*, to the aid of their friends, yet, notwithstanding, when they came near, durst not venture to assist them; but stood in sight, while the General took the town. Publick thanks were given to God, by Order of Parliament, for this great victory.

The Parliament orders a publick thanksgiving to be observed for this great victory.

Another insurrection in Kent, under Lord Goring, at Greenwich. June 2, 1648.

He flies from General Fairfax's army, and crosses the river Thames into Essex, with a body of 500 horse; and there is joined by other Insurgents against the Parliament.

Now, all Kent seemed to be quieted (except some castles, which also, within a short time, were taken, or yielded to the Parliament) when suddenly, a new head of this *Hydra* sprung-up; the Lord *Goring*, gathering a remnant of the Kentish army, with about two thousand men, had marched as far as *Greenwich*, from thence he sent some to see how the Citizens of *London* stood affected to the business; but whilst he staid, expecting an answer, some troops of the Army came in sight, upon which *Goring*, and all his company fled: the horsemen pursuing, took some booty, and divers prisoners; the Kentish men, for the most part, fled to their own houses. The Lord *Goring*, with about five hundred horse, flying from *Greenwich*, and getting boats, crossed the Thames into *Essex*, where (as if the fates sought out new victories for *Fairfax* every where) the Lord *Capel*, with forces out of *Herefordshire*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, with a body of horse, at *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, joined themselves to *Goring*, to whom, within a short time, divers, that formerly had been the King's soldiers; and many

many *Londoners*, with others flocked. Some, also, of higher rank, as Mr. *Hastings*, brother to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, and *Compton*, brother to the Earl of *Northampton*.

The General *Fairfax*, crossing the *Thames* at *Gravesend*, passed with a part of his Army into *Essex*, and sending for the rest of his forces out of *Kent* and *London*, pursued the enemies; whom, at last, he drove into *Colchester*, and in that town besieged them; where (because it proved a long siege) we leave him for a time, and pass to other actions.

The greatest of all dangers, which threatened the Parliament, was from the North, not contained within the bounds of *England* only, but from the Kingdom of *Scotland*; Major-general *Lambert*, the chief Commander in the North, labouring to suppress *Glenham* and *Langdale*, wrought so much, that he kept them within the bounds of *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*; but they expected the march of the Scottish Army, to which they intended to join themselves. *Lambert*, too weak to oppose so great a force, omitted no diligence in strengthening himself from the neighbouring Counties, who were very forward to his assistance, especially *Lancashire*, who raised two regiments of horse, and four of foot, to be conducted by Major-general *Ashton*, and join with *Lambert*, in *Yorkshire*. The English Malignants alone, were not very formidable in the North, but that the Kingdom of *Scotland* joined with them against the Parliament. Wars were made from another Kingdom, that *Cromwell* might be victorious as well against Foreigners, as against Englishmen.

The Faction of the Duke of *Hamilton*, was then prevalent in the Parliament of *Scotland*, by whom designs were hatcheted, dangerous to both Kingdoms, contrary to peace, and contrary (for so it was judged by the Church of *Scotland*) even to the Covenant itself. *England* was to be invaded, and a great army raised under the command of the Duke of *Hamilton*, a man that was both ambitious and subtle. The English Malignants (for it was given out, that they took arms for the King) were invited to join with them, and Pay was promised to those that would serve. All this was done, though *Argyle*, *Loudon*, and the honestest Lords, protested against their proceedings; and the Kirk of *Scotland* cursed that War, as impious.

General *Fairfax* pursues them into *Essex*, where they retire before him into *Colchester*, and there are besieged by him.

The Scottish Parliament prepares to invade *England*, in opposition to the late Resolutions of the English Parliament, and the English army.

An Account of the Duke of Hamilton's Party in Scotland.

But the more numerous party prevailed, who thereupon styled themselves, *the Parliament of Scotland*, by a kind of right: and, to curb men of the adverse Faction, a Committee was made, with power given them to punish all those who should attempt any thing against the Decrees of the Parliament; and a Penalty was set-down, to be inflicted upon all Ministers, who should, from their pulpits, teach the people otherwise; by which means it was brought to pass, that many Ministers were silenced, and some were punished; and some Lords, of the other Faction, retired themselves to their own places of strength. Yet could they not stop the mouths of all the Ministers; but some, with a constant zeal, denounced the wrath of God against the army of *Hamilton*. And, by the wretched success of that unfortunate army, the curses of the Kirk seemed not to have been pronounced in vain, anymore than, of old, the Tribune's curse upon the Parthian expedition of *Marcus Crassus*, the Roman Triumvir.

Conspiracies by land (though over the whole island) against the Parliament of *England*, seemed not enough, unless the sea also had rebelled against them. For divers of the chief ships, in the Royal Fleet, revolted from the Parliament, about the beginning of June, and set the Vice-admiral *Rainsborough* ashore; affirming, "that they were for the King, and would serve Prince *Charles*," and sailing towards *Holland*, where the Prince then was, and with him, his brother the Duke of *York*: who, not long before, had fled privately (being persuaded thereto by Letters from the King, his father) out of *London*, where he had been kept, with great Observance and State, by the Parliament.

A great part of the English Fleet revolts from the obedience of the Parliament, and resolves to obey the orders of the King's eldest son, Charles, Prince of Wales; in June, 1648.

The Earl of Warwick is appointed by the Parliament Lord High Admiral of England, & preserves another part of the English Navy in a state of obedience to the Parliament.
May 29, 1648.

The Parliament were much troubled at the revolt of these ships, as a thing of extreme danger; and sent to the Earl of Warwick, to take the command of their remaining Navy, and reduce the rest if he could. *Warwick*, cheerfully accepted the employment, and was, by the Parliament, created (which title he had born at the beginning of these wars) Lord High-Admiral of *England*.

Whilst *Warwick* was serving the Parliament, his brother, the Earl of *Holland*, unhappily, rose in arms against it. Relying (as it seems) upon the opportunity of time, while the Navy was revolted, whilst *Fairfax* in *Kent*, and *Crom-*

Cromwell in Wales, were busied : he built, likewise, upon the affections of the Citizens of *London*, of whom he made trial ; and, joining the young Duke of *Buckingham*, and his brother, with others, to him, he appeared in arms near *Kingston*, with five hundred horse ; but, by Sir *Michael Levesey*, and others, (who took occasion by the fore-lock,) he was there put to flight, and the Lord *Francis Villiers* was slain ; *Holland*, flying with the remainder of his horse, was, within a few days after, at the town of *St. Needs*, by Colonel *Scroop* (whom the General had sent from *Colchester*, for that purpose) altogether subdued ; *Dalbeer*, and some other Gentlemen, slain ; *Holland* himself was taken, and by the Parliament committed prisoner to *Warwick-Castle*.

At the same time *Rossiter*, also obtained, for the Parliament, a gallant victory over the forces of *Pomfret-Castle*, whom, (as they were pillaging the country, and plundering up and down, being a thousand horse,) *Rossiter* fell-upon, vanquished, and took prisoners all their Commanders, and also took all their arms and baggage ;— *Rossiter* himself (which for a time abated the joy of this victory) was grievously wounded ; but he recovered.

These victories obtained every where by the Parliament, though some of them may seem small, yet will appear great, and worthy of commemoration to all those who consider how much the Commonwealth, if but one of these fights had miscarried, had been endangered : and the Parliament itself, weighing the number and variety of their hazards, may better acknowledge the continuance of God's providence, and his very hand with them. By these little victories, also, a way was made for higher trophies, and an absolute subjugation of all their enemies, which, about this time, miraculously happened.

For now, most opportunely, was *Pembroke-Castle* surrendered to *Cromwell*, which *Poyer* and *Langhorn*, confiding in the strength of the place, had so long stiffly maintained. But at last, being brought to extremities, they delivered it without conditions, surrendering themselves prisoners at mercy. Which fell-out at the same time (the Fates calling *Cromwell* to a greater achievement,) that Duke *Hamilton*, with a numerous army of Scots, had entered

The Earl of Holland revolts from the Parliament, but is soon defeated, and taken prisoner by Colonel Scroop. July 10, 1648.

Colonel Rossiter gains a victory over a body of Royalists from Pomfret-castle. July 6, 1648.

Pembroke-castle is surrendered to Lieutenant-general Cromwell. July 11, 1648.

The Duke of Hamilton, at the Head of a great Scottish Army, invades England.
July 8, 1648.

entered *England*, and, about the beginning of *July*, was further strengthened by the addition of *Langdale's* forces. *Hamilton* marched above five-and-twenty thousand strong, striking a great terror every-where ; scarce, in the whole time of these wars, did any army exercise greater cruelty towards the poor inhabitants of *England*. And yet, when the Parliament debated concerning this army, the House of Peers could hardly be brought to declare them enemies. For the House of Commons had declared, *That the Scots, that, under Duke Hamilton, invaded England, were Enemies ; and all the English, which joined with them, were Traitors to their Country.* To which Vote, the Lords, at last, after much debate, assented. The chief Citizens of *London*, and others, called Presbyterians, (though the Presbyterian Scots abominated this Scottish Army) wished good success to these Scots, no less than the Malignants did. Whence let the Reader judge of the times.

Lambert, though too weak, in all probability, for so potent an enemy, was not discouraged ; but resolved to oppose the present danger, and, if need required, to fight the Scots : but he daily expected the coming of *Cromwell*, to whose conduct, this victory was reserved. In the mean time, with prudent retreats, and some skirmishes, not only with *Langdale*, but *Hamilton* himself, he spun-out the time so long, until that *Hamilton's* great army, having, on the twentieth of *August*, entered into *Lancashire*, *Cromwell* was arrived with his forces, who with the addition of *Lambert's* strength, made an army of almost ten thousand men.

He is defeated by Lieutenant-general Cromwell, with great slaughter, at Preston in Lancashire. Aug. 20, 1648.

This famous battle was fought near to *Preston* in *Lancashire*, in which all the forces of *Hamilton* and *Langdale* were vanquished, and put to flight, whom, the Conqueror pursuing, as far as *Warrington*, (about twenty miles) and killing many in the chace ; took Lieutenant-general *Baily* prisoner, with a great part of the Scottish army, granting them only quarter for their lives. In this battle were slain three thousand Scots, and taken prisoners about nine thousand : Duke *Hamilton* himself, within a few days after, having fled with a good party of horse to *Uttexeter*, was there taken prisoner by the Lord *Grey*, and Colonel *Wait*. With *Hamilton*, were taken about three thousand horse.

horse. *Langdale* also, not long after, was taken prisoner in a little village, by *Widmerpool*, a Parliament-Captain. This was the success of *Hamilton's* invading *England*.

Colchester is surrendered to General Fairfax. August 27, 1648.

Presently after this famous victory of *Cromwell*, *Colchester* was surrendered to General *Fairfax*. Three months almost, had the General lain before that town, with a small army, in respect of the number of the besieged, in a lamentable rainy season, where the patience of the soldiers, no less than their valour, was tried. *Goring*, *Capel*, *Hastings*, *Lucas*, and the other Commanders, until they were reduced to extreme necessity, would not hear of yielding, but despised all conditions: their courage was long upheld by vain hopes (besides the smallness of the General's army) of aid, by insurrections at *London*, and of the success of *Hamilton*, *Langdale*, or the Earl of *Holland*; and, more especially, of succour by sea, from Prince *Charles*, who was now possessed of those ships, which had revolted from the Parliament; and, having taken divers Merchant's ships besides, was himself, in person, with no contemptible fleet, come into the narrow seas.

But, about the end of *August*, the besieged, in *Colchester*, despairing of any relief, and reduced to extremities (for they had long fed upon horse-flesh) yielded themselves to the mercy of the Conqueror. Two only suffered, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, who were shot to death. *Goring*, *Capel*, and *Hastings*, were sent to prison, to abide the doom of Parliament.

Thus was the Parliament every-where victorious by land; nor were they unhappy by sea. For, considering that revolt of the Navy, it was to be accounted a great felicity, that no more revolted after them, or no farther mischief ensued. But the Earl of *Warwick* was very careful; and, it pleased God, by this fright, rather than loss, to let the Parliament know the frailty of their own condition.

About the end of *August*, *Warwick*, with a good fleet, was in the River *Thames*; when Prince *Charles*, with a greater force, about twenty sail, was come upon the River against him, and sent a command to *Warwick*, to take-down his flag, and yield obedience to him as supreme

State of the English Fleet about the end of August, 1648.

preme Admiral, having the King's Commission to that purpose. But *Warwick*, true to the Parliament, obeyed not the Summons; nor was there any convenient place in that narrow channel (especially for the larger vessels) to make a naval fight; and *Warwick's* fleet, not strong enough to encounter the Prince, stayed for the coming of their friends, the *Portsmouth* fleet. The government and bringing-about of that fleet, was committed to the care of *Sir George Ascough*; nor did the Lord-Admiral *Warwick*, know, certainly, what was become of that *Portsmouth* fleet, whether that also were revolted; for so the rumours were every day in *London*. And certain it is, that (the Mariners, being so ill-affected in general, and daily corrupted by the townsmen in *Portsmouth*,) that fleet had been lost from the Parliament (by which means the other could not have subsisted) if the discretion of *Sir George Ascough*, his estimation among the seamen, and their love to him, had not (happily for the Parliament) then appeared. He wisely sounding the affections of them, and cashiering the worst, to prevent the spreading of that contagion, did, with many endeavours and great difficulty, so well prevail at last, that he confirmed the whole fleet in the Parliament's obedience: and, very successfully, sailing by Prince *Charles* in the night, brought all his ships safe to the Earl of *Warwick*. Who, now strengthened by *Ascough's* coming with the *Portsmouth* fleet, resolved to make towards his enemies. But, finding that the Prince, for want of victuals, was gone back into *Holland*, he followed him, not long after, with the whole fleet, to *Goree*, upon that coast.

Cromwell, after his victory over the Duke of Hamilton, reduces the towns of Berwick and Carlisle to the obedience of the Parliament, and then marches into Scotland, where he is received with great marks of respect and gratitude.

Cromwell, after he had given that great defeat to *Hamilton*, following his victory, entered into *Scotland*, to help *Argyle* and *Leven*, against the forces of *Monroe* and *Lanerike*; which he effected with great felicity, and reduced those garrisons, which the Scots and English Malignants had before seized, namely, *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, into the Parliament's power. Then going into *Scotland*, to consult about the safety of both Kingdoms, he was most honourably entertained in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. Many of the Scottish Nobility and Gentry were sent, from the Committee of Estate, to meet *Cromwell*:

who,

who, after congratulatory Orations made, conducted him to *Edinburgh*; where *Argyle*, *Leven*, and other Lords, entertained him, and the rest of the English Commanders, with a most magnificent banquet in the Castle. Thanks were given by the Ministers to *Cromwell*, who was, by them, styled “the preserver of *Scotland*, under God.” Such also is the testimony of the Committee of Estate, written to the English Parliament, concerning *Cromwell*. Presently after, the forces of *Monroe* and *Lanerike* were disbanded, and all other forces, except fifteen hundred horse and foot; which were to stand under the command of *Leven*, until the Kingdom were settled. It was also decreed, both by the Committee of Estate, and the Assembly of the Kirk, *For preservation of Religion, and brotherly amity with the English Nation*, That no man, which had joined with *Hamilton* in the late Invasion of *England*, should be chosen into the new Parliament, (which was then called) or into the Assembly of the Kirk. For the Faction of *Hamilton* were judged enemies to Religion, and to both the Kingdoms.

It was worthy of noting, that that English Army, which were by the religious party of *Scotland* called, *A bundle of Sectaries*, and reviled by opprobrious names, should now be acknowledged by the same Scots, to be the Instruments of God, and vindicators both of the Church and of the Kindom of *Scotland*. The greatest Peers of *Scotland*, also did ingenuously confess their rashness and error, the year before, for accusing this Army as rebellious for acting the very same things in *England*, which now themselves were enforced to act in *Scotland*, for preservation of that Kingdom.

This great change in the Council of *Scotland* would have been much to be wondered-at, if the change that then happened in the English Parliament had not been a still greater miracle. Who would not be amazed at this, “that *Cromwell*, for vanquishing a Scottish army, (by which he delivered *England* from the worst of miseries,) should be acknowledged there to have been the preserver of *Scotland*, and yet should not here be allowed to have been the preserver of *England*! and that the same victory of his against the Scots, should please the Presbyterian Scots for religion’s sake,

sake, and, yet for religion's sake, should displease the Presbyterians of *England!*" *Oedipus* himself cannot unriddle this; especially if he judge according to reason, and not according to what Envy, Hatred, and embittered Faction, can produce.

A great change takes place in the Disposition of the English Parliament with respect to the King.
July 28, 1648.

The face of the English Parliament was now suddenly, changed; and the votes which passed the year before namely, of *making no more Addresses to the King*, were annulled and made void: those votes, upon which the Parliament (as before is said) had published a Declaration to inform the world concerning the reason and necessity of their proceedings. Their Counsels were now quite changed, and new Addresses to the King, (the formerly impeached members being again restored to their seats) with more submissive earnestness than ever before, were resolved-on. The Houses then fell into a Debate about propositions to be framed, and a treaty to be had with the King, (before he had given any satisfaction or security to the people,) personally at *London*, with honour, freedom, and safety.

A Treaty with the King at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in August, 1648.

But that was not carried. Only a treaty was voted to be in the Isle of Wight, and that the King should choose the place within that Island. Therefore, on the fourth of *August*, the Earl of *Middlesex*, with two of the House of Commons, were sent to the King. Who made answer, that he was very ready to treat of Peace; and named *Newport* in that island to be the place. For that business Commissioners were presently chosen out of both Houses; Five Peers, *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Middlesex*, and *Say*. Ten of the Commons, Lord *Wainman*, *Hollis*, *Pierpoint*, *Vane junior*, *Grimstone*, *Pots*, *Brown*, *Crew*, *Glyn*, and *Buckley*.

The King during this treaty, found not only great reverence and observance from the Commissioners of Parliament: but was attended with a Prince-like retinue: and was allowed what servants he should choose, to make-up the splendour of a court. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, with other Gentlemen of note, and a competent number of them, waited in his train; his own Chaplains, and divers of his Lawyers, to advise him in the treaty, were allowed there.

But

But whilst this treaty proceeded, and some months were spent in debates, concessions, and denials; behold, another strange alteration happened, which threw the King from the height of honour into the lowest condition. So strangely did one contrary provoke another. Whilst some laboured to advance the King into his Throne again upon slender conditions, or none at all; others, weighing what the King had done, what the Commonwealth, and, especially, what the Parliament's friends might suffer, if he should come to reign again with unchanged affections, desired to take him quite away. From hence divers and frequent Petitions were presented to the Parliament, and some to the General *Fairfax, That whosoever had offended against the Commonwealth, no persons excepted, might come to Judgment.*

The first Petition of that kind was presented to the Parliament, upon the eleventh day of *September*. The Title of the Petition was,

Great numbers of people present Petitions to Parliament, to bring the King to justice, as the guilty author of all the bloodshed of the two late Civil Wars.
From September 11, to the end of November, 1648.

To the most honourable the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament:

The humble Petition of many Thousands of well-affected men in the Cities of London and Westminster, in the Borough of Southwark, and the neighbouring Villages, Inhabitants.

This Petition, which broke the Ice, was followed, in the space of one month, by many other Petitions of the same kind, from divers Counties of *England*, and several Regiments of the Army; namely, from the County of *Oxford*, on the 30th of *September*: from the County of *Leicester*, on the 2nd of *October*: from many Commanders in the Army, on the 4th of *October*. Three other Petitions brought-up on one day; namely, the 10th of *October*: another from *Ireton's Regiment*, on the 18th of *October*: and another from *Ingoldsbie's Regiment*, on the 21st day of the same month.

The scope of all these Petitions was the same, that Justice might be done, and that the chief authors of so much bloodshed in *England*, and so many calamities to the Nation; namely, those who had been the raisers of this

this Second War, and were now in the Parliament's custody, *Hamilton, Holland, Capel, Goring*, and the rest, might be punished. But especially they intreat, that the King himself, the chief offender, the raiser of the whole War, and author of *England's calamity*, might be called to Judgement: *That the Parliament would give them leave to remember, what the Parliament itself had the year before decreed and declared against the King; and what the Kirk of Scotland, in 1646, had declared against the same King; That he was guilty (besides other horrid crimes) of shedding the blood of many thousands of his best subjects.* Which things, if they were true, and not at all punished, nor any satisfaction made; it might be feared, would provoke (by so much injustice) the wrath of God, who had delivered that King (after so bloody a War) into their hands. They therefore humbly intreat the Parliament, that they would not ungratefully throw away so many miraculous deliverances of Almighty God, nor betray themselves and their faithful friends, by deceitful Treaties, to an implacable enemy.

These Petitions, being supported by the victorious Army of the Parliament, bringing on a Trial, Condemnation, and capital Punishment, of the King, as the wilful author of the late Civil War. January 30, 1648-49.

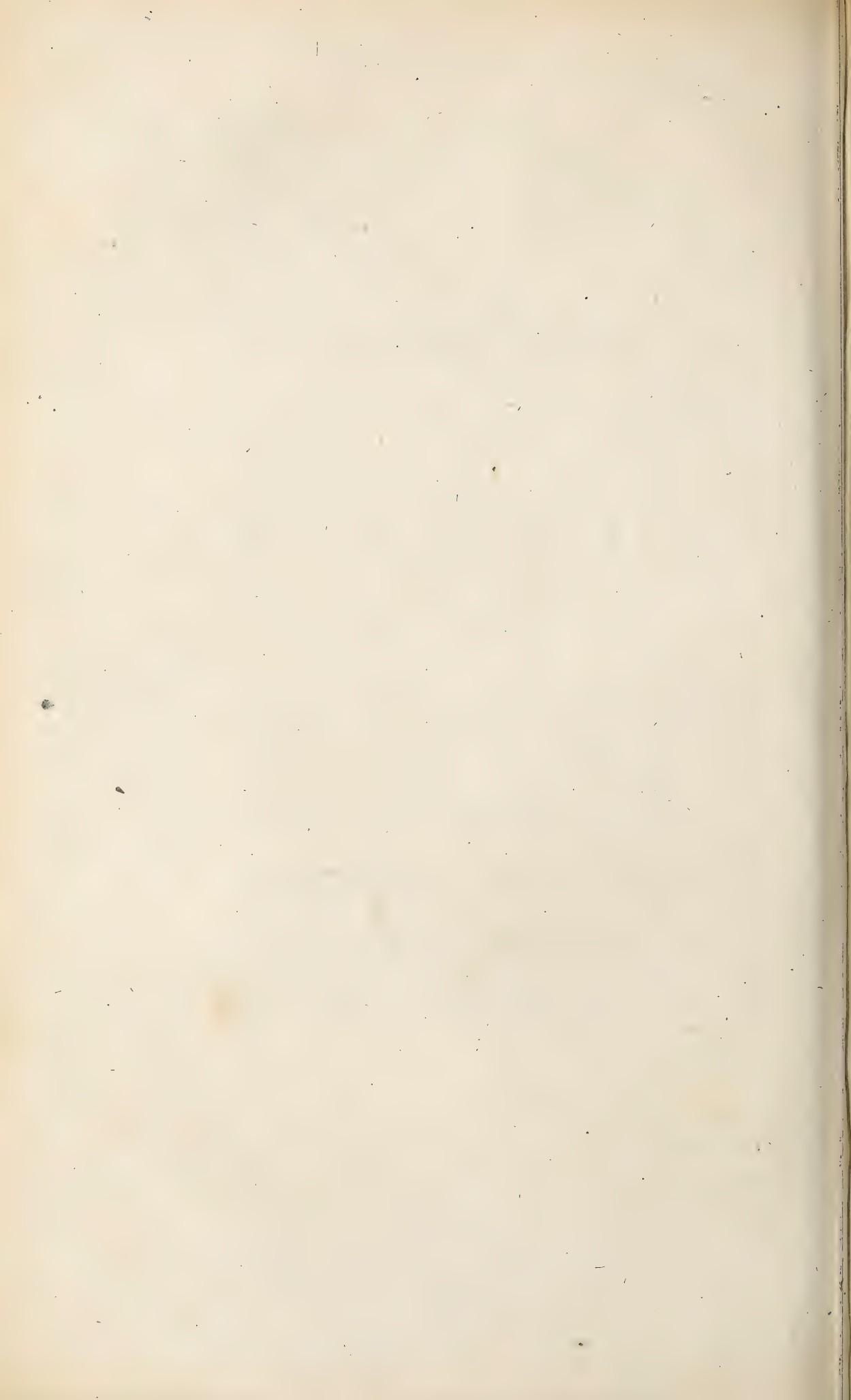
This was the sense of all those Petitions, which, during the Treaty, were daily presented to the Parliament, and by them laid-aside. But, at last, these desires prevailed; especially after that the Remonstrance of the Lord General, and the General Council of Officers held at St. Albans, the 16th of November 1648, was presented to the Parliament on the 20th of the same November.

But by what means, or what degrees, it came at last so far, as that the King was brought to trial, condemned, and beheaded: because the full search and enarration of so great a business would make an history by itself, it cannot well be brought into this BREVIARY; which, having passed-over so long a time, shall here conclude.

SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS
ON
THE LIFE AND DEATH
OF
KING CHARLES I.

By WILLIAM LILLY, Student of Astrology.

Published for the first time in July, 1651.



THE PREFACE

TO THE PRESENT EDITION OF THIS TRACT.

THE Tract here re-printed forms the second part of a larger Tract, entitled, *Monarchy, or no Monarchy, in England*, that was published at London in the month of July, 1651, about two years and a half after the death of King Charles the 1st, and the concomitant Change of the Form of the English Government from a Monarchy into a Commonwealth, or Republick. And the author of it was *William Lilly*, the celebrated Astrologer of that time : who seems to have been a man of great Learning in History and other branches of useful knowledge, as well as a distinguished cultivator of the fantastick Science of Astrology. I call Astrology a *fantastich* Science, because it is now generally thought to be so ; and I perfectly agree with those who so esteem it, not being able to conceive how the different positions of the Sun, and the Moon, and the Planets, with respect to each other, (which positions depend upon their motions with certain known velocities, and in certain known periods of time,) can have the smallest connection with, or afford us the smallest grounds for foretelling, the great events of human life, which are produced by the actions of men and other voluntary agents. But in the reign of King Charles the 1st, and

even to the end of the 17th Century, and beyond it, this Science (though now justly considered as fantastick and unsupported by any solid grounds of belief,) was held in great esteem by many persons of high rank and liberal Education, both in England and in other parts of Europe. Of this odd sort of credulity, even in persons who had but a faint belief in revealed Religion, and an utter disregard of its moral precepts, it would be easy to produce a great number of examples ; and, among them, might be mentioned King Charles the 2nd, and his celebrated mistress in the first years after his restoration, the Dutchess of Cleveland ; who, both of them, appear to have been firm believers in Judicial Astrology. We must not therefore conclude that *William Lilly* was a mere Impostor, that did not really believe in Astrology, but only pretended to believe in it, in order to get money by telling people their fortunes ; but we ought rather, in candour, to suppose that he really did believe in it, as well as so many other persons of as good an education as himself, and of the same, or a higher, rank in Life. And it appears by this tract, called *Monarchy, or no Monarchy, in England*, that he not only believed in Astrology, but also in the truth of some other Prophecies, not founded on the principles of Astrology, which had been made and committed to writing by eminent persons in different ages, and some of them long after the promulgation of the Christian religion by Jesus Christ and his apostles. And he declared, that some of these Prophecies that had been delivered many centuries ago, and committed to writing, and preserved in the Libraries of Monasteries, or Colleges, or rich and powerful Princes, had been so fully verified afterwards (by the conformity of the great publick events that had then come to pass, to the descriptions given of them

them in the said Prophecies,) that it was impossible, without a most unreasonable degree of incredulity, to doubt of their having been real Prophecies, or having been suggested to the minds of the persons, who had made them and committed them to writing, by the immediate Inspiration of God Almighty. Such was the opinion of *William Lilly* concerning some of these Prophecies of a much later date than those of the Old and the New Testaments. And he speaks with particular respect of one of them, which was written in Latin, and was ascribed to a person named *Ambrosius Merlinus*, who flourished nine hundred years before the then present time, or the year 1651, that is, in the year of Christ 751, or about 50 years before the end of the seven different kingdoms under which the people of England had been governed since the arrival of the Saxon invaders, and the union of them all into one kingdom under *Egbert*, the king of *Wessex*, or *West-Saxony*. This Prophecy Mr. Lilly translates into English, and sets-forth in the following words, believing it to relate to the late King Charles the 1st, who had died on the 30th of January, 1648-49.

A Prophecy of the WHITE KING, wrote by *Ambrose Merlin*, 900 years since, concerning Charles, the late King.

“ When the Lyon of Rightfulness is dead, then shall
“ rise a White King to Brittain. First, flying; and after,
“ riding; after, ligging-down. And, in this ligging-down,
“ he shall be lymed : after that he shall be led.”

This Prophecy begins in page 38 of Lilly's Tract of *Monarchy, or no Monarchy, in England*; and his explanation of it,—shewing how all the clauses of the Prophecy have, in his opinion, been verified by the several events of King Charles's reign, and particularly by those of

the late civil war, extends from page 38, to the middle of page 55.

This Prophecy about the *White King* is followed by several other Prophecies that extend from page 55 to page 73, and seem to be very little interesting. And in page 73 the author adds the following lines as an Introduction to his “Observations on the Life and Death of Charles, late King of England,” which are here reprinted.

“The late King being the principal occasion of our whole Discourse, I thought to leave unto posterity some characters of his life and actions, as follows; not vulgarly known.”

In page 74 of this book, the said “Observations on the Life and Death of the late King Charles” begin, and they extend to page 119.

The first 37 pages of this work, called “Monarchy, or no Monarchy, in England,” which precede the above-mentioned Prophecy concerning the *White King*, relate to other Prophecies, or pretended Prophecies, which are very little interesting, or worthy of the reader’s attention: and they likewise contain some other matters which are founded on the principles of Astrology, and are therefore still less worthy of being again produced before the publick at this day. And therefore I have forborn to reprint the whole of the first part of the said Tract, intitled *Monarchy, or no Monarchy, in England*, and have only reprinted the second part of it, which is almost entirely *historical*, and is, as I believe, a very faithful account of the character and actions of King Charles the First, from his child-hood to his death. For it is written with so much candour and moderation, and relates so many particular actions and circumstances of

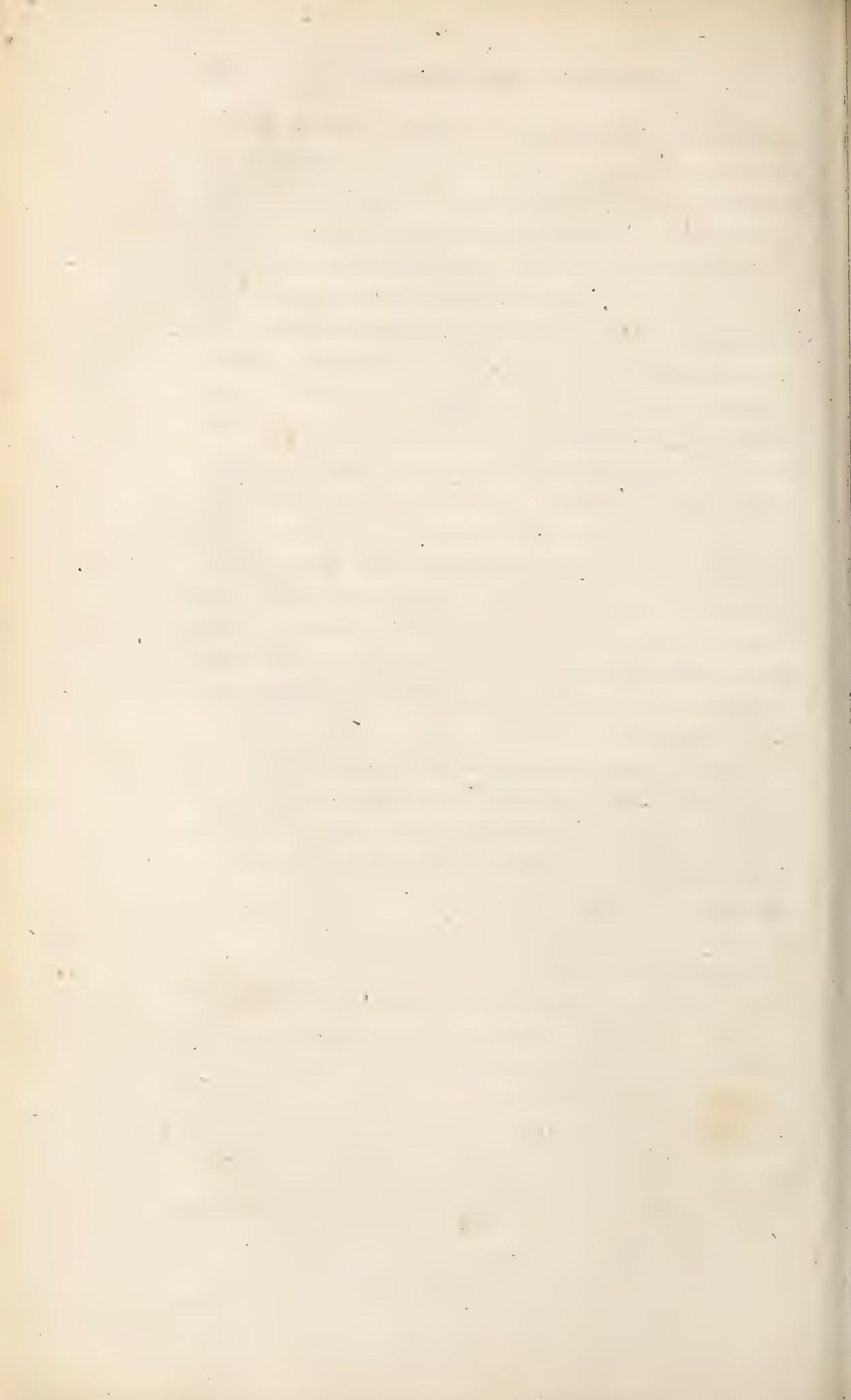
the

the King that are advantageous to his character, as well as others that have a contrary tendency, that I am inclined to think that the Author, in writing it, constantly endeavoured to adhere strictly to the Truth; and I am therefore ready to give him full credit for what he says of himself upon this subject, in the Preface to his Book, addressed to the reader; which is in these words. "If any busy-body object 'that it is besides my taske to write the Life of the late King ;' I say, No ; for, he being the subject of, or occasioning, the whole Discourse, I could do no lesse. I have no way injured him: there is nothing I mention of him, which I had not from those persons of credit who either saw the actions done, or heard with their ears the words delivered. I have rather been sparing than lavish, even when I mention his worst, or foulest, Actions. There are hundreds [of persons] now alive, who will swear [that] I have [used] more Balsam than Corrosive in the Discourse."

In short, I look upon Mr. Lilly, on this occasion, as a very faithful and exact Historian, though I pay but little regard to what he says, either as a Student of Astrology, or an Interpreter of supposed old Prophecies posterior to the times of the Apostles.

Inner Temple, June 3, 1818.

FRANCIS MASERES.



SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
LIFE AND DEATH OF CHARLES,
LATE KING OF ENGLAND

CHARLES Stuart, late King of *England*, was borne at *Dumferlin* in *Scotland*, about 15 miles from *Edinburgh*, November 19, 1600. He lived 48 years and about 72 days: and he died in the beginning of his Climacterical year, which is fatal many times where killing directions in the Nativity threaten. Several *characters* are given of him: some do too much magnify him; others as much vilify him.

Died in a Climacterical year.

He was well-educated by his Father under careful *tutors*, men of great knowledge in all manner of qualities, fit for the education of Princes; and he came to the crown, when he was aged 24 years and about 4 months, even in the flower of his age.

Well educated in his youth.

Of his infancy we have little to mention; only he was noted to be very wilful and obstinate by Queen *Ann* his mother, and some others who then were about him. His mother, being told he was very sick and like to die, said, he would not then die, or at that time, but live to be the ruin of himself, and the occasion of the loss of his three *Kingdoms*, by his too much wilfulness:—A sad prediction from a mother, who most intirely loved him; but it proved very true in the sequel. Some affirm she had that foresight of his conditions from a stranger, who had not only great judgement in Nativities, but in the more secret learning; others that one *English*, a *Scot*,

Noted to be wilful.
His mother, Queen Ann, her presage of him.

Queen Ann's opinion
of the Palsgrave, her
son-in-Law.

a Scot, informed her thereof first. Queen *Ann* may be thought to have the spirit of *Prophecy*, in judging so rightly on her son and daughter; for she so much scorned and undervalued the *Palsgrave* for a husband unto the Lady *Elizabeth*, that, in most of her language after and before her marriage, she would call her *Goodwife Palsgrave*, a name and title she thought good enough for any woman that should marry that dull and unfortunate man. And indeed her fears and predictions proved most true. The old *Scottish Lady*, who was the King's nurse, was used to affirm as much, and that he was of a very evil nature, even in his infancy; and the lady, who after took charge of him, cannot deny it, but that he was beyond measure wilful, and unthankful; yet, while he was young, he followed his book seriously, which his elder brother *Prince Henry* could not endure; and therefore *King James* would frequently blame *Prince Henry* for the neglect of his book, and tell him how his brother *Charles* followed it; whereupon the *Prince* would reply, when that he himself should be *King*, he would make his brother *Charles, Archbishop of Canterbury*.

Charles learned his
book well.

Many good parts in
the King.

Sir Robert Hol-
borne's opinion of
the King's vigorous
understanding.

And, to speak truly of him, he had many singular parts in nature; he was an excellent horseman, would shoot well at a mark, had singular skill in Limning and Pictures, was a good *Mathematician*, not unskilful in *Musick*, well-read in Divinity, excellently in *History*, and no less in the *Laws* and *Statutes* of this Nation. He had a quick and sharp conception, would write his mind singularly well, and in good language and style; only he loved long *Parentheses*: he would apprehend a matter in difference betwixt party and party, with great readiness, and methodize a long matter, or contract it in few lines; insomuch that I have heard Sir *Robert Holborne* often say, He had a quicker conception, and would sooner understand a case in *Law*, or with more sharpness drive a matter unto a head, than any of his *Privy-Council*; insomuch, that, when the King was not at the *Council-Table*, Sir *Robert* never cared to be there. He had also, amongst other his special gifts, the gift of patience; insomuch, that if any offered him a long discourse or speech, he would, with much patience, and without any interruption or distaste, hear their speech, or story,

story, out at length ; but then he would expect the same civility from others.

He was a great admirer of his Queen, (if he dissembled not,) very uxorious, seldom denying her any request, and, for her sake, was very civil to the old Queen of France, her mother. The height of his affection unto the Queen, fully you may perceive in those transcendent expressions of his, in letters sent unto her, the copies whereof were intercepted at *Naseby*, and since printed ; his conclusion being always :

*Thine Eternally,
or, Farewell, Dear heart.*

He communicated his weightiest and most private designs unto her ; nay, there was very little of any moment, but she was advised-with concerning it ; and yet, (what reason the Queen knew to the contrary, I could not learn,) but she more than once twitted him in the teeth with dissembling, &c.—A quality, which, indeed, he was as sufficiently master of as any man living, and which, questionless, he had partly from his Father, and partly from the *Climate* he was born in, *viz. Scotland*.

He was an indulgent Father, careful, (if not too covetous,) to have provided patrimonies for his children ; for he would often say, when some beggarly courtier propounded a *Monopoly*, or *Project*, unto him, affirming it would produce unto his coffers, so many thousand pounds a year, or much increase his revenue ; he would presently send for the *Judges*, or some of his *Counsel at Law*, and, if they affirmed and consented, that he might by *Law* grant the thing desired, he often would say, “he knew no reason, but that he might grant the matter in question, sith the thing itself was just and lawful ; for he had many children to provide for.”

Before the wars he was a great enemy to bloodshed, or wilful murder ; insomuch, that, when one *Stamford* had, in an insurrection in *Fleet-street*, killed a man, he could by no means be drawn to sign a pardon unto him, though *Stamford* had been *Buckingham’s* favourite and countryman, and though very great intercession had been made unto him for his pardon.

Where he once really affected, he was ever a perfect friend ;

A great lover of the Queen.

His Letters to the Queen.

She thought him a dissembler.

A provident father for his children.

An enemy to blood before the wars.

A perfect Friend where he took.

Ruined by his love to the Clergy.

Bishop Wren a pestilent fellow.

The King abuses the Nobles.

Loved not the Law.

friend; witness his continuance of affection unto all *Buckingham's* friends, after his death; yea, until his own last decay of fortune.

He was a great lover, if not too much, of the *Clergy*, and highly advanced them; insomuch as under him they grew first insolent, and then saucy; and indeed, his indulgence unto them did, in part, procure unto himself the people's hate. Whether his indulgence unto the *Clergy*, proceeded from a religious affection rather to advance the ways of righteousness, or *God's* cause, than his own private designs, it hath been by many controverted; but by judicious men it was adjudged, that his own *self-ends* were therein more sought-after than propagating the *Gospel*; so that he served himself by pretending to advance the *Clergy*. He erred extremely in this one business: when divers godly Christians in *Norfolk* delivered him a Petition against the Tyrant *Wrenn* their *Bishop*, he sent for *Wrenn*, and bade him answer it. Novelties in Doctrine he hated as much as in Ceremony.

He loved not greatly the antient *Nobility* and *Gentry* of this Nation, but did rather prefer *Creatures* of his own, or his Father's, making. How much he loved any of the *Nobility* or *Gentry*, but for his own ends, he made it plainly appear at *Oxford*, where he procured sundry of the *English Nobies*, and many *Gentlemen*, Members of the *House of Commons*, to recede from the *Parliament* at *Westminster*, and convene at *Oxford*, where himself was; and, after that this *Mock-Parliament*, to satisfy his desire, had convened and assembled, done what they could, and thereby engaged their Persons and Estates for him, yet, because they would not in all things comply with his tyrannical humour, he, in a letter to the Queen, complained of them unto her, and said, he was so troubled with a *Mongrel Parliament*, he could nothing, &c. This scornful Epithete, or Badge of disgrace, was all the reward any of those unfortunate *Gentlemen* had from him. But it was just that they should be so payed their wages, who, in so traiterous a way, had deserted the *Parliament* at *Westminster*, which sits to this day, &c.

He cared not much for the *Common-Law*, or very much for the *Long-Gown* men; he learned that disaffection of his from his Father *Jemmy*, who could not endure the *Lord-Chief Justice Coke*, because he ever said, that the *Prerogative* was

was bounded by *Law*, and was limitable. But that excellent *Patriot* was worsted for his dear affection to his Country by *Egerton* the *Chancellor*, who maintained the contrary, and was worthily as well rewarded by the *old Scot* for his labour, *Jemmy* taking the Great Seal from him before he was dead, yea, in a disgraceful manner.

The *Commonalty of England* he neither cared-for, took much notice of, or much disrespected, holding this opinion only, that, because he was *their King*, they ought in duty to serve him.

The *Citizens in London*, though they much courted him with their flatteries and large gifts, and in his latest extremities relieved him with considerable sums of money, yea, even at *Oxford*, in Soap-barrels, yet he slighted them, thought them ever too rich, and intended for them a severe revenge; had he ever mastered the *Parliament*, he was advised, by one I well knew, to have demolished half the City. What he would have done, had he been *victorious*, *God knows*: He would often say, it was the *Nursery* of the present Rebellion: (for so he called the wars, &c.) and that the body of the City was too large for the head. I have heard it from the mouths of many very worthy *Gentlemen*, whose hap it was to serve him in the late Wars, that they did believe, had he, *viz.* the King, by Armes conquered this *Parliament*, he would have proved the greatest Tyrant the *English Nation* ever had to rule over them; and therefore they did still pray for a reconciliation betwixt *Parliament* and *Him*, but could never endure to hear he should conquer our Armies, &c. And so much in a manner dropt-out from the mouth of *Rupert*, who, giving command for executing some things contrary to the *Laws*, and being acquainted with his mistake, "Tush, "quoth he, we will have no more *Law* in *England* henceforward, but the *Sword*."

He had a natural imperfection in his speech; at sometimes could hardly get-out a word, yet at other times he would speak freely and articulately; as at the first time of his coming before the *High Court of Justice*, where casually I heard him: there he stammered nothing at all, but spoke very distinctly, with much courage and magnanimity.

As a Man, he had his imperfections; for he was very covetous and gipple, and sparing of his treasure, (qualities nothing commendable in a King) and, if at any time liberal,

Cared not for the people.

His love or hate to the Citizens.

Likely to prove a Tyrant.

Rupert a young tyrant.

Defect in the King's speech.

He was covetous,

it

it was rather to the undeserving or boisterous fellows than the well-meriting ; by how much the more humbly any made their addresses unto him, by so much the more was he imperious, lofty, and at a distance with them ; whereupon it most an end happened, that the *impudent* and *bold* were rewarded, and the *virtuous* slighted : which imperfection of his enforced a bold-spirited *Courtier* to say, “there was no way to get any boon from him, but by impudence and cajoling him with unbeseeming language.”

Yet he himself was never obscene in his speech, or affected it in others. I have only met-with, or taken notice of, two passages, which argue him guilty of unbeseeming language ; first, in all, or most of, his letters unto the Queen, he terms the Parliament *Rebels*, though they were lawfully convened, and not dissolved, or to be dissolved, without their own consent ; but time and their *Victories* acquainted him with more civil language, and taught him to style them a *Parliament*. In another Letter of his unto her, he calls the Lord-General *Fairfax*, who was then the

Parliament's General, their *brutish General* ; a most uncivil term and epithet to bestow upon so brave a Man, so civil, so valiant, and so much a *Gentleman*, as *Fairfax* was and is ; assuredly the *Progenitors* of the Lord *Fairfax* were *Gentlemen*, and of good estates, then and at what time the *Ancestors* of the *Stuarts*, were but poor *Stewards* unto a family in *Scotland* ; and what a preferment it is now, or was some three hundred years since, to be *Bailiff* or *Steward* unto a *Scottish Family*, let the whole World judge : for this was the true original of the rise and growth of the Family of *Stuarts*, and no other ; though since, by marriage, they came to be Kings of *Scotland*, (as their own *Chronicles* relate.)

He did not greatly court the Ladies, nor had he a lavish affection unto many ; he was manly and well-fitted for venerial sports, yet rarely frequented illicit beds ; I do not hear of above one or two natural Children he had, or left behind him. He had exquisite judgement by the eye and *Physiognomy*, to discover the virtuous from the wanton ; he honoured the virtuous ; and was very shy and choice in wandering those ways ; and, when he did it, it was with much cautiousness and secrecy ; nor did he prostitute his

Rewarded the vicious.

Called the Parliament rebels.

Abuses the Lord Fairfax.

Rise of the Family of the Stuarts.

Judgement in Physiognomy.

his affection, but unto those of exquisite persons or parts ; and this the Queen well knew ; nor did she wink at it. He had much of *self-ends* in all that he did ; and a most difficult thing it was to hold him close to his own promise, or word ; he was apt to recede, unless something therein appeared compliable either to his own will, profit, or judgement ; so that some foreign Princes bestowed on him the character of a most false Prince, and one that never kept his word, unless for his own advantage. Had his judgement been as sound as his conception was quick and nimble, he had been a most accomplished Gentleman ; and though in most dangerous results and extraordinary serious consultations, and very material, either for State or Commonwealth, he would himself give most solid advice and sound reasons, why such or such a thing should be so, or not so, conducted ; yet was he most easily withdrawn from his own most wholesome and sound advice, or resolutions, and with as much facility, drawn, or inclined, to embrace a far more unsafe, and nothing so wholesome a Counsel. He would argue *logically*, and frame his arguments *artificially* ; yet never almost had the happiness to conclude, or drive-on, a design in his own sense, but was ever baffled by meaner capacities.

He feared nothing in this World so much, or disdained any thing more, than the convention of a *Parliament* : the very name was a *Bugbear* unto him. He was ever refractory against the summoning of a *Parliament*, and as willingly would embrace an opportunity to break it off. This his averseness being well known to some grave Members, they contrived at last, by wit and the necessity of the times, that his hands were fast tied-up in granting a triennial sitting, or a perpetuity, as it were, unto this present *Parliament*, a thing he oft blamed himself for subscribing unto, and as oft those who importuned him thereunto. And therefore I wonder at that passage of his, (if it was his, which I doubt of,) in that book published under his name and called his *Portraiture**, wherein he maintains that this *Parliament* was

A self-ended Man.

Ill characters of him,
given by foreign
Princes.

An uncertain Prince.

His fears of a Parlia-
ment.

Grants a triennial
Parliament.

The King was neces-
sitated to call his last
Parliament.

* It has been universally known ever since the year 1692, that this work, called *Ekay Basiliun*, or *Icon Basilikee*, was not composed by King Charles himself, but by the Reverend Dr. Gauden, a clergyman of the Church of England, and delivered into the King's Hands in the Isle of Wight, about called

The late book under
the King's name,
forged, not his.

called as much by his own choice and inclination, as by the advice of others ; whereas it is manifestly known even unto all, that it was only necessity and the importunity of the *English*, who would not fight with the *Scots* ; and this only cause was it which gave occasion for calling of this *Parliament* : The *Scots* at that time being possessed of *Newcastle*. For the book itself, it maintains so many contradictions unto those things manifested by his own Letters under his own hand unto the Queen, that I conceive the most part of it *Apocrypha*; the *Meditations*, or *Psalms*, wholly were added by others. Some loose Papers he had, I do well know ; but they were nothing so well methodized, but rather papers intended after for the press, or, as it were. a *Memorial* or *Diary*, than such a well-couched piece, and to so little purpose. But it is answered by the learned *Milton*.

Not sorrowful for the
slaughter of his
people.

Two examples there-
of.

He was seldom, in the times of war, seen to be sorrowful for the slaughter of his people or soldiers, or, indeed, any thing else ; whether by nature or by custom, his heart was hardened, I leave for others to judge. When, unfortunately, the Parliament had lost some of their men in the *West*, at *Marlborough* and the *Devizes*, and they brought, in a miserable condition, without hose or shoes, or scarce clothes, into *Oxford*, as a triumph ; he was content to be a spectator of their calamities, but gave neither order for their relief, nor commands for ease of their sufferings ; nay, it was noticed by some there present, that he rejoiced in their sad affliction. So, afterwards, when *Hambden* was wounded, or near that time, in *Buckinghamshire*, it happened, a very valiant soldier, of the Parliament's side, to be taken, stript stark-naked, his body being shot in many places, and his shoulder broke ; this poor soul, in this condition and pickle, was set on a poor lean jade, and brought as a triumph before the King, where he stood accompanied with many Nobles : it would

the middle of the month of November, by the Marquis of Hertford. It had a wonderful effect in exciting the Reverence of the People of England towards the character of the King after his death, on account of the great piety and other virtues which are therein exhibited, and supposed to have been expressed by the King in the time of his misfortunes in the latter part of his life. See upon this subject Ludlow's Three Letters, lately republished in quarto, pages 35, 86, 87, 88, &c.

have

have pitied any one's heart, to have heard how this poor man was reviled and upbraided by lewd people, even as he passed close by the King's presence; who neither pitied the man, rebuked the unruly people, or gave order for the cure of his wounds; but God cured the soldier instantly; for he died ere he was forty paces from the King's presence. And, notwithstanding the misery of the man, and the sharpness of his wounds, yet was the greatness of his spirit and courage so undaunted, that he rode very upright upon the poor jade, nothing daunted, either at his own present condition, or at the presence of the King: it was observed, that when a lewd woman, as he passed-by, called him *Rebel*, he only looked sternly at her, and said, *You whore*. Some Nobles, seeing the hard-heartedness of the King, upon this sad accident, and how little he valued those who either fought for him, or against, him, upon this mere occasion, deserted him, and came to *London*, &c.

Great courage of the Soldier, even just before his death.

The King hard-hearted.

Temperate in his diet.

Sober in his apparel.

Not very vicious, no virtuous.

Even the looks and gestures of *Princes* are observed, you may see; and several, either good or ill, constructions are grounded thereon. He was observed, in his diet, to feed heartily, and would drink wine, at meals, freely, but not in excess; he was rather violent than moderate in exercises; when he walked on foot, he rather trotted than paced; he went so fast. He was nothing at all given to luxury; was extreme sober, both in his food and apparel; in the latter whereof he might rather be said, to go cleanly and neat, than gaudy or riotously; and, as to the former, he rather loved sober, full, and substantial dishes, than *kickshaws*; on which the *extravagant Nobles* feed, for their wantonness sake; though many times, ere they are satisfied with curiosities in diet, their estates lie pawned for them. In the general, he was not vicious; and yet, whoever shall say he was virtuous, extremely errs; he was a medly, betwixt Virtue and Vice.

He was magnificent in some measure, and was the only cause of the building that miracle of ships, called the *Royal Sovereign*; and, when some of his *Nobles* acquainted him with the vast charge thereof, he replied, "Why should not he be admitted to build that ship for his own pleasure, and which might be, upon occasion, useful for the service of the *Kingdoms*, as well as some *Nobles* to prodigally spend

Built the Royal Sovereign.

His wise saying about that ship.

" their *Patrimonies* in riotous and ungodly courses, nothing
 " either for their credits or reputations, or any way beneficial
 " to the *Kingdom.*" It was wisely said of him, at that time,
Every man had his peculiar vanity, and that was his, if the people accounted it so.

Chapel at Somerset-house.

He was ill-thought-of by many, especially the *Puritans* (then so called,) for suffering the *Chapel*, at *Somerset-house*, to be built for the Queen, where *mass* was publicly said. Yet was he no *Papist*, or favoured any of their *Tenents*; nor, do I remember, any such thing was ever objected against him. Myself was once there to gaze, whilst the *Priest* was at *high Mass*; the *Sexton*, and others, thrust me out very uncivilly; for which I protested never to come there again.

The King not blameable for writing to the Pope,

The actions of Kings and Princes are looked-upon with many eyes, whereof some ever prove either squint or purblind: so long as we live in this world, our conversation cannot be with *Saints*, but with the Sons of *Adam*, who ever smell of some corruptions. Many also have blamed him for writing unto the *Pope*, when he was in *Spain*; others think ill of him, for the many *Reprieves* he gave unto seminary *Priests*, and Mr. *Prinn* sweats, to purpose, in aggravating his offence thereby. Why, he might not as well, in a civil way, write unto the *Pope*, as write and send his *Ambassador* to the great *Turk*, I know not; and for his mercy to those *Priests*, who had not occasioned *Rebellion* in his *Dominions*; truly, Charity bids me to make rather a good than a bad construction of it. Add, were not the *Common-Law* of this Nation more in force than that *Canon* of Scripture, those things could not be justified, putting men to death for *Religion*, or, for taking orders beyond sea, &c.

Ambitious; set-forward for Spain; no honour by that journey.

He was ambitious, and disdained, in his youth, to match with any of the *English Ladies*; and, therefore, upon hopes of a marriage with the present *King of Spain's Sister*, he, on Monday, the 17th Feb. 1622*, set-forward for *Spain*; went, first, into *France*, and from thence, with his high thoughts, passed the Mountains. Neither had he success in the marriage desired, nor did he get honour by that journey. For, although he had been most magnificently entertained in *Spain*, some private disgusts happened there, and in that

* That is N. S. 1622.

voyage; insomuch that he never, after his return into England, much cared for the *Spaniard*; which he made publickly known in several years of his reign.

He was accompanied to Spain by the Duke of Buckingham; one whom formerly he had extremely hated, but, after that journey, as extremely fancied, being his only great favourite. People, generally, were nothing satisfied with that his journey undertaken so rashly; yet many sober men judged very well of the marriage itself, and these did publicly aver, that the *Spaniard* was rich, and a brave man, and would not be troublesome unto us with unnecessary visits; and would ever bring gold in his pockets; and that they were a people, with whom the English Merchants had a great and rich trade, and with whose natural conditions the English did pretty-well sympathize; and, as to the Infanta's strictness in the Roman Religion, there was, by many prudent men, very little fear entertained, that it would produce any ill to this Nation, which now had been Protestant above sixty years; and, they did also consider, that the Prince was very surely grounded in his own Protestant Faith, and that the Common Law would well provide for the multiplicity of Priests, who might presume to come-over upon her account.

The 27th of March, being Sunday, 1625, King James died. All that whole year, a most furious plague afflicted the City of London, there dying above fifty thousand people. Amongst those, whose misfortune it was to abide in the City, during that pestilent contagion, myself was one; and I therein beheld God's great mercy unto me, being nothing at any time visited by it, though my conversation was daily with the infected; and I do well remember this accident, that, going, in July, 1625, about half an hour after six in the morning to St. Antholine's Church, I met only three persons in the way, and no more, from my house, over against Strand-bridge, till I came there; so few people were then alive, and the streets were so unfrequented.

In June, 1625, Marie, daughter of Henry the Fourth, King of France, came-over, and was married to the King the same month. Several constructions were made upon this marriage with France; and many disputations, in private, were had, whether she, or the Infanta, might have been better for this Nation.

Buckingham his favourite.

King's journey censured.

King James's death.
A Plague in London.

N. B.

The Queen's coming over.
The King married.

Reasons of the Parliament's dissolving.

King James poisoned by a Plaster.

The King refuseth to permit the Parliament to enquire into the cause of his Father's death, and is therefore suspected to have been guilty himself.

N. B.

The King crowned.

A second Parliament. Montague questioned.

However, the *Parliament*, in regard of the sickness, was translated to *Oxford*, 10th *August*, 1625, and the 12th of the same dissolved. There are two main reasons given for its dissolution; one was, that the *Duke of Buckingham*, his own favourite, might not be questioned concerning King *James's* death; and the second was, that his Majesty made several Propositions unto the people, which they would not consent unto. That King *James* was really and absolutely poisoned, by a plaster, applied by *Buckingham's* mother unto King *James's* stomach, was evidently proved before a Committee. But "whether *Buckingham* himself, or the late *King*, was guilty, either in the knowledge of, or application of the plaster," I could never learn: many feared the King did know of it, and they gave this reason; because, when the *Parliament* did resolve to question *Buckingham* for it, and had prepared their Charge, or Articles, to present against him in the *House of Lords*, and to accuse him thereof, his Majesty, contrary to all expectation, and, as in affront to both *Houses*, and in the *Upper-house*, when the Articles came-up, gave *Buckingham* his hand to kiss, and carried him away with him, &c. This action lost him the present *Parliament's* affections; even the most sober of his friends held him very much overseen, to deny a *Parliament justice*, in any matter whatsoever: but,—in a matter of poison, and the party poisoned being his Father,—in that to prohibit a due course, or a legal proceeding, against the party suspected,—it was to deny *Justice* with a refractory hand. But, at that time, he was lusty and young, and, in his infancy of *Convening Parliaments*, thought to make himself sure ever-after, or to master the *Commons of England*. There is no pen, how able soever, can take-off the blemish that will ever hang on him, for falling-out with his *Parliament*, because they questioned, how, and by what means, his Father came to his death.

The second of *February*, 1625 *, he was Crowned at *Westminter*. *William Laud* altered the old *Coronation-oath*, and framed another new; and in *March* following, was a *Parliament* again summoned, and therein *Montague* was questioned for *Popish* and *Arminian* Tenents; and *Buckingham* was, again, also put to it by the *Commons*. In time of this *Parliament*, he sent for the *Bishops*, and

* That is N. S. 1626.

blamed

blamed their backwardness, for, that they did not inform him, how he might promote the cause of the *Church*: indeed, he did well know what fawning *Jacks* most of them were, and how easily he might, with hopes of profit, win them to his side; they made-up a good part of the *House of Lords* in number. Here, again, the *Houses of Parliament* were troubled with the disputes of *Buckingham* and *Bristol*; the latter of whom was the wiser man of the two, but had the fewest friends; these two *Lords* framed Bills, and accused each other of *Treason*. At that time most men pitied *Bristol*, and thought him ill-rewarded for all his service in *Spain*; for, it was conceived, he acted not but according to commission.

The Bishops fawning fellows.

Buckingham and Bristol at odds.

In this *Parliament* the King committed Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and Sir *John Elliott*, Members of the *House of Commons*, to prison, because they most rigourously had managed an accusation against *Buckingham*. An high affront it was to the *Parliament*, and a great breach of privilege to commit a Member of that *House*, without the *House's* consent. That matter was much resented, and very ill-taken; and by those, and other his high miscarriages unto both *Houses*, they began to mistrust him; many gave sad conjectures of his actions, and thought, that in the end, he would either have all, or lose all. June 16, 1726, he dissolves the *Parliament*, only that they might not prosecute *Buckingham*.—An argument of sound affection unto his favourite, to hazard the love of millions only for him; but a deep imprudence, and high oversight, to slight a whole *Nation*, for love only of one man, and he but of yesterday, or a new Creature, of but his Father's mere stamping, and his own continuing.

Diggs and Elliot committed.

Parliament dissolved.

It was in *August*, this year, that *Tilley* overthrew his Uncle, the *King of Denmark*, in a pitcht field. How the *King* carried the business with his Uncle, or what treasure he promised to supply him with, and did not perform, I know not; sure I am, the old *King*, after this fight, could never endure our *King*, but would swear, he endeavoured, what in him lay, to make him lose his *Kingdom*. This I had from the mouth of Dr. *M.* who heard the *King of Denmark* speak what I write.

Tilley overthrows the King of Denmark.
In August, 1626

In *Anno 1627*, he set-forth Men and Ships to the *Isle of Rhe* in *France*, under the conduct of *Buckingham*: we

The Isle of Rhe business.

Buckingham excused
for our loss of men
in the Isle of Rhe.

The truth of that
defeat, and who was
faulty.

Buckingham his of-
fer.

Courtney the cause
of our loss.

Crosby his good ser-
vice.

Courtney very
strangely preserved.

lost our best Men in that scurvy design, who were no better than butchered by the French, through the indiscretion of some that had principal command therein : but give me leave, before I proceed further to relate what I had from the mouth of an eminent colonel, employed in that successless expedition, and one of the Council of War, and a sworn enemy to the *Duke*. *Buckingham*, I well know, was extremely blamed about the loss of our men, the day of their retreat unto the Ships. The matter was thus carried : The night before the Retreat, the Duke called a Council of War, and there shewed them the necessity of their Retreat the next day, and that (himself in martial discipline being wholly unexperienced,) he left the managing of the next day's Action to the ordering of the Council of War, offering the service of his own person unto any hazard whatever, as far as any private Soldier. The Council committed the management of their retreat, by a free consent, unto old Sir *William Courtney*, a heavy, dull, covetous, old Man, who, having been 20 or 30 years a private Captain in Holland, was, by Sir *John Burrows* means, made Colonel in that expedition ; and, *Burrows* being now dead, and *Courtney* the oldest *Colonel*, it was referred unto him how, with safety, to bring-off our men. But, he, (either through want of judgement, or through forgetfulness,) having not sufficiently provided for the security of our reare, our men were most unfortunately, many of them, cut in pieces ; and, had not Sir *Pierce Crosby*, with 800 Irish, made good the retreat, all our men had been lost ; *Courtney* himself fell into a *Salt-pan* in the defeat, and was saved by means of his man *Anthony's*, crying, *Oh ! save my Captain* ; but the poor fellow lost his own life, and saved his Master's.

A bullet by chance, during their stay in that *Island*, was shot at the said *Courtney* ; and, he having a piece of *Gold*, of 21 shillings price, in his *sab*, the bullet, lighting there, bent the *Gold*, and so he was preserved ; *Courtney*, at his *return*, shewed me the *Gold*, and told me the story. The King, hearing of our loss at the *Isle of Rhe*, and the landing of the *Duke*, instead of being angry at the loss o^r so many gallant Men, or calling him to account, sent to comfort the *Duke*, desiring that he should not be troubled at the losse ; for the chance of *War* was casual.

And

And now we are speaking of *Rochell*, let me acquaint the World, that his Majesty was the sole cause of its being lost. For he lent the *King of France* eight or ten of his own *Navy*, by which means the *Rochellers' Ships* were sunk and destroyed, who before were ever able to relieve themselves with their own Ships, against all opposition the *Kings of France* could make. And that it may appeare, he willingly lent these Ships unto the *French*, and was not forced unto it by *Buckingham*, as many have affirmed; I will relate this passage, perhaps not vulgarly known. Sir *John Pennington*, being *Vice-Admiral*, had commission to carry eight or more *Royal Ships* into *France*. When he arrived there, the *French* acquainted him the ships were to serve the *French King* against the *Rochellers*, and, if that he, the said Sir *John*, would serve in that employment, he should be honourably rewarded. But this gallant Man, being truly *English*, scorned the proffer, and utterly refused the employment; and, ere he would resign the Ships unto the *French*, came privately himself to the King, and informed the King of the *French* intentions against *Rochell*; but the King said only thus much: "Pennington, go, and deliver your Ships, and leave them in *France*," and then gave him a particular, or private, *Warrant*, under his own hand, for his discharge, &c. The King had much a-do to get his Ships again from the *French*, and then was inforced to send Sir *John Pennington* amongst the *French*, who seized above a hundred *French Ships*, and kept them until ours were delivered up. One thing is observable, that we had only two sailors that assisted against *Rochell* in our Ships, and no more; this I relate in honour of the Sea-men.

The King's love to
Buckingham.

Rochell business.

The King the only
cause of its being
lost, in July 1625.

Sir John Pennington
his gallantry.
Scorns the French
proffers.

N. B.

The destruction of *Rochell* is wholly laid upon our King's score, (as well and justly it may be) to his eternal dishonour and blemish; for, if he had not furnished the *French* with Ships, *Rochell* could not have been taken, as it was. And verily I believe the sad groans and miseries of those poor *Protestants*, poured-out unto Almighty *God*, in the height of their calamities, against our King, were extremely instrumental in hastening down the anger of *God* against the late King. However, this Action of his lost him the love of the *Protestant Princes* in all parts of the

All French Protest-
ants hate the King.

* See on this subject, the new edition of Ludlow's Letters in quarto, lately reprinted in the year 1812, and sold by White and Cochrane in Fleet-Street, pages 7 & 8.

World ; and his own Subjects could, after that Action, never well brooke him, but daily were alienated in their affection from him, supposing him either not well-grounded in the *Protestant-faith*, or else a mere *State-Juggler*, and no other. I know, some persons have accused *Buckingham* of being instrumental about the lending those Ships ; and it is possible he was so.

However, in *March* 1627, another, or third, Parliament was summoned, in which *Buckingham* was again articled-against : and in *June* the Parliament was prorogued until *October*, and after, in *March*, dissolved, because *William Laud* was remonstrated-against by the *Commons*, and his ruin laboured. There were also Articles exhibited against *Buckingham* in this *Parliament* : but the latter of the two, *viz.* *Buckingham*, was stabbed on the 23d of *August*, 1628, he being ready to go to Sea for relief of *Rochell*, then besieged. Many complained of the King in this his various and inconstant conduct about *Rochell*, *viz.* in first aiding the *French* to destroy the *Rochellers' Ships*, then to take part with them against the King of France, but to no purpose. Some therefore compared him to a *Black Witch*, who, they say, can bewitch and hurt Cattle, but hath no ability to cure them again. It was an act of great inconstancy and much dishonour to himself and the whole *Nation*, though the *Nation* had no hand in it.

Another, or Third, Parliament called.
In March, 1627-28.
Buckingham and *Laud* questioned.

Buckingham stabbed to death, August 23, 1628.

The King not moved at it; scizeth his Cabinet.

Nothing amended after *Buckingham's* death.

The story of Sir George Villiers's Ghost.

When first the news was brought unto the King of *Buckingham's* death, he was at a *Sermon*, or in a *Church*, or at service. He did not seem much troubled at the news, but stayed-out the *Sermon* with much patience, and only gave *Maxwell* present directions to seize the *Duke's Cabinet*, wherein his Letters and private instructions were. All men generally, except a few *Court-Parasites*, were glad of *Buckingham's* death ; yet nothing was bettered in the *Court*, or *Commonwealth*, after his death : which moved many to affirm, that all the acts of misgovernment in the *Realm* proceeded not from *Buckingham's* ill advice, but most from the corrupt and depraved nature of the King's own heart. Sith I am upon the death of *Buckingham*, I shall relate a story of his being admonished often of the manner of the death he should die, in this manner.

An aged Gentleman, one *Parker*, as I now remember, having formerly belonged unto the *Duke*, or of great acquaintance

uaintance with the *Duke's Father*, and now retired, had An Apparition before the Duke's death.
Dæmon appeared several times unto him, in the shape, r image, of Sir *George Villiers*, the *Duke's Father*; this *Dæmon* walked many times in *Parker's Bed-chamber* without any action of terror, noise, hurt, or speech, but t last one night broke-out into these Words: " *Mr. Parker*, I know you loved me formerly, and my Son *George* at this time, very well. I would have you go from me, (you know me very well to be his father, old Sir *George Villiers*, of *Leicestershire*,) and from me ac- quaint him with these and these particulars, &c. and that he, above all, refrain the Council and Company of such and such, (whom he then nominated,) or else he will come to destruction, and that suddenly." *Parker* did partly, (though a very discreet Man,) imagine he himself was in a dream all this time, and, being unwilling to proceed upon no better grounds, did forbear addressing himself to the *Duke*; for he conceived, if he should acquaint the *Duke* with the words of his Father, and the manner of his appearance unto him, (such appa- ritions being not usual) that he should be laughed-at, and thought to dote, being he was aged. Some few nights passed without further trouble to the old Man: But, not very many nights after, old Sir *George Villiers* ap- peared again, walked quick and furiously in the room, seemed angry with *Mr. Parker*, and at last said: " *Mr. Parker*, I thought you had been my friend so much, and loved my Son *George* so well, that you would have acquainted him with what I desired; but yet I know you have not done it. By all the friendship that ever was between you and me, and the great respect you bear my Son, I desire you to deliver what I former- ly commanded you unto my Son." The old Man seeing himself thus sollicited in this Manner, promised the *Dæmon* he would, but first argued it thus, " that the *Duke* was not easy to be spoke-withall, and that he would account him a vain Man to come with such a message from the dead; nor did he conceive the *Duke* would give any credit unto him;" whereunto the *Dæ- mon* thus answered: " If he will not believe you have this discourse from me, tell him of such a secret (and named

A *Dæmon* appears to Parker, relating to the Duke's death.

Speaks to Parker.

Who forbears to ac- quaint the Duke.

The *Dæmon* appears again.

Parker resolves to tell the Duke.

Speaks with the Duke.

Who laughed at it.

Yet was at last amazed.

The Daemon appears again to Parker.

Parker again acquaints the Duke.

Parker dies.

The King of Scotland born, May 29, 1630.

" named it) which he knows that none in the World ever knew but myself and he." Mr. Parker being now well-satisfied, that he was not asleep, or that the Apparition was not a vain delusion, took a fit opportunity therefore, and seriously acquainted the Duke with his Father's words, and the manner of his Apparition. The Duke heartily laughed at the relation, which put old Parker to a stand ; but at last he assumed courage, and told the Duke, "that he acquainted his Father's Ghost with what he now found to be true, viz. that he should be treated with scorn and derision : but, my Lord, saith he, your father bade me acquaint you by this Token, and he said it was such, as none in the World but your two selves did yet know." Hereat the Duke was amazed and much astonished, but tooke no warning therefrom, but kept the same Company still, advising with such Counsellors, and performing such actions, as his Father, by Parker, had countermanded. Shortly after, old Sir George Villiers, in a very quiet, but sorrowful, posture, appears again unto Mr. Parker, and said : " Mr. Parker, I know you delivered my words unto George, my Son ; I thank you for so doing ; but he slighted them : and now I only request this more at your hands, that once again you repair unto my Son, and tell him, If he will not amend, and follow the Counsel I have given him, this Knife or Dagger (and with that he pulled a Knife or Dagger from under his gown) shall end him; and do you, Mr. Parker, set your house in order ; for you shall die at such a time." Mr. Parker once more engaged, though very unwillingly, to acquaint the Duke with this last message, and so did ; but the Duke desired him to trouble him no farther with such messages and dreams ; told him he perceived he was now an old Man and doted, and, within a month after, meeting Mr Parker on Lambeth-Bridge, said, Now Mr. Parker, what say you of your dream ? who only returned, Sir, I wish it may never have success, &c. But, within six weeks after, he was stabbed with a Knife, according to his Father's admonition before-hand ; and Mr. Parker died soon after he had seen the Dream, or Vision, verified.

The 29th of May, 1630, being Saturday, near unto one in the afternoon, the present King of Scotland was born :

born : the next day the King came to *Paul's Cross*, to give GOD thanks for the Birth of his Son, where were presented unto him these Verses :

*Rex ubi Paulinas accessit gratus ad aras,
Emicuit medio lucida stella polo.
Dic, divina mihi tractans ænigmata cœli,
Haec oriens nobis, quid sibi stella velit?
Magnus in occiduo princeps modò nascitur orbe,
Moxque sub eclipsi regna orientis erunt.*

Many supposed there had appeared a new Star at his birth, whereas it was the Planet Venus, which is usually seen in the day-time.

About May 1633, he went into *Scotland*, and was Crowned there the 18th of June, ⊙ 7°. ☽ D in 7. ♍. In *July* he had a dangerous passage from *Brunt Island*, and hardly escaped drowning ; some of his household-stuff, or plate, was lost.

The Eclipse was the Monday following.

The King in danger of drowning.

In 1634 he was infinitely troubled with faction in his Court ; which much displeased him. But, by little and little, he put all things into order again. Then also he levied a general great Tax upon the whole *Kingdom*, vulgarly called *Ship-money*, because it was pretended it was for maintenance of the Navy. And truly much of it was that way expended, and the Sailors well paid their wages ; which occasioned for two years together a good Fleet of Royal Ships to be set-forth, much for the honour of the Nation.

Faction in the court.

Ship-money.

This Ship-money was generally disliked, being a mere Innovation, and a cleanly trick to poll the subjects, and cheat them into an annual Payment : myself was then a Collector for it in the place I lived in ; I remember my proportion was 22 shillings and no more ; if we compare the times then, and the present, in which I now live, you shall see great difference even in *Assessments*, the necessity of maintaining our Armies requiring it ; for now my Annual Payments to the Soldiery are very near, or more than, 20 pounds, my Estate being no way greater than formerly. Against this Ship-money many gallant Men opposed ; and at last in *Parliament* it was voted-down.

Generally disliked.

Voted-down in Parliament.

In

Disturbances in Scotland about the Service-Book. In July, 1637.

New Tumults in Scotland. In May, 1638.

In July, 1637, viz. 23d day, there was great disturbance in Edinburgh, about a new *Service-book*, endeavoured to be obtruded on the *Scots* by the *King* and *Canterbury*. I have heard, that an old Woman began the quarrel, by casting her stool at the *Priest*, when he read the *Service-book*. Many, very modest Divines, exceedingly blame both the *King* and *Canterbury*, for that Book. It admitted unto the people, as I remember, the *Communion* only in one kind. However, by the prudence of some grave men, being then privy-Counsellors in *Scotland*, matters were slubbered-over all that Winter, in *Scotland*. But in *May* or *April*, 1638, new tumults arose; and truly, I may almost say, that that corrupt *Common-prayer Book*, was the sole and whole occasion of all the miseries and wars that, since that time, have happened in both *Nations*. For, had his Majesty, first, endeavoured the imposition of that lame Book upon the *English*, most men did believe we should have swallowed it; and then the *Scots* must have done it afterwards; for the *Clergy*, at that time, generally were such idle and lazy lubbers, and so pampered with Court-preferment, and places temporal in every *shire* of *England*, and such flattering sycophants, that, doubtless, the great hand of *God* was in it, that those rude *Scots* first broke the ice, and taught us the way to expel an insulting *Priesthood*, and to resist the *King*; he endeavouring, by unwarantable means, to intrude things contrary to the *Divine Law* of almighty *God*, upon our consciences.

The Queen-Mother of France comes-over to England.

Received civilly by the King.

In *Anno* 1638, the Queen-Mother of *France*, and Mother unto the *English Queen*, Widow of *Henry the fourth, King of France*, landed in *England*, and came unto *London* the 31 Oct. She was very meanly accompanied, and had few persons of quality attending her. The *King* most humanely and generously receives and entertains her, though all men were extremely against it; for, it was observed, that where-ever, or unto what-ever country, this miserable old *Queen* came, there followed immediately after her, either the *Plague*, *War*, *Famine*, or one misfortune or another. Strange it is unto me, how she could be so fatal

atal to any land she entered into ; true it is, and I do
ery well know, that some people born under an unfor-
unate constellation of Heaven, (without this, that they
ive above nature, and live wholly in the Spirit) are so
extremely unsuccesful in every thing they undertake, that,
et them use the greatest industry they can to be rich, all
will not amount to obtain a poor living, though, they are
assisted, not only with a good stock of money to begin
heir profession with, but have also many very profitable
and assisting friends, and means for their better encou-
ragement and furtherance. It is very possible, that such
like ill-fortune, from her infancy, might attend this old
Queen, as to be thought an unlucky *presage* of what
mischiefs presently followed her in those countries she re-
sided-in.

Some people naturally unlucky.

In November, Proclamation was made to dissolve the great Assembly in Scotland. But it was to little purpose; for the Scots have this privilege belonging unto them, that where, and when, they please, they are bound to obey no *Edicts* or *Commands* of their Kings, except those *Edicts* fancy their own humours. This Proclamation was laughed-at, and slighted by the Scots; who made it appear that they were in good earnest, and began to raise an army for their own defence; by no means enduring the half-Popish *Common-prayer Book*. This raising an army by the Scots, in opposition to the *Common-prayer Book*, made our *Prelates* prick-up their ears, and the lazy *Bishops* most of all; who convened, and raised amongst their own *Levitical Tribe*, great sums of money, towrads the maintenance of an army against the Scots, whom they now hated worse than Turks. Several particular men are summoned to appear at Court, and enforced to lend vast sums of money towards the maintenance of an army. I have heard some affirm, that the King had in his coffers, at that time, above six hundred thousand pounds; no great sum for so provident a Prince, and such large incomes as he had.

Endeavours to dissolve the Assembly in Scotland.

The Scots raise an Army.

Our Priests are angry.

Much money borrowed on particular men.

The King raises an Army.

Earl of Arundel, General.

Ancestors

The English like not
the war.

The Priests do.

Peace concluded.

The King greedy of
a Peace.

Arundel's speech to
the Scots.

King Charles his
rashness.

Ancestors had been *Generals* several times against the *Scots* with excellent success. There attended the King in this expedition most of the *Nobility* of this *Nation*; but with great unwillingness: for, the *English* and *Scots*, (having now lived like Brethren, or Natives, or people of one *Nation*, one amongst another, for almost forty years, and having intermarried one with another, both the *Nobility*, or *Gentry*, and others,) they thought it a very strange thing, and not lawful or convenient, that this *Nation* should now take-up arms and engage against the *Scots*, only to satisfy the insatiable lust of a few domineering *Priests*, and half-*Popish Bishops*, as also of an *obstinate King*, wholly led by the nose by these *snaffling Priests*. The *common Soldier* was nothing well-pleased, and marched most unwillingly upon this service. At last both Armies, for many days, accosted each other; yet, I never heard of so much as one louse killed by either army: the *Scots* being very tender of provoking the *English*, and they as willing to give no offence unto the *Scots*. In June, of that year, a peace was concluded betwixt both *Nations*, the *English Nobility* much desiring and furthering it.

The King himself was most greedy, above all men, of this *Union* with the *Scots*; as will appear by this ensuing story. That day, which was assigned for certain of the *English Nobility* and *Scottish* to treat about those Articles of agreement, or *Pacification*, which the *Scottish Nobility* were to produce, the *Nobles* of each *Nation* being seated, the *Earl of Arundel* began with much gravity to rebuke the *Scots*, for their unadvisedness and rebellion in raising their army against their lawful King, and disturbing the peace of both nations; and yet he commended the good nature of the King, who was, notwithstanding their high provocations and misdemeanours, very inclinable to hear their just grievances, and to that purpose had appointed himself, being General of the *English* army, and some other select *Nobles* of his *Council*, to meet them that day, to treat with them, and to hear their grievances, and what they could say for themselves. This gallant man was proceeding further in his speech, and aggravating the *Scots* offences, when lo! unexpectedly, his Majesty entered

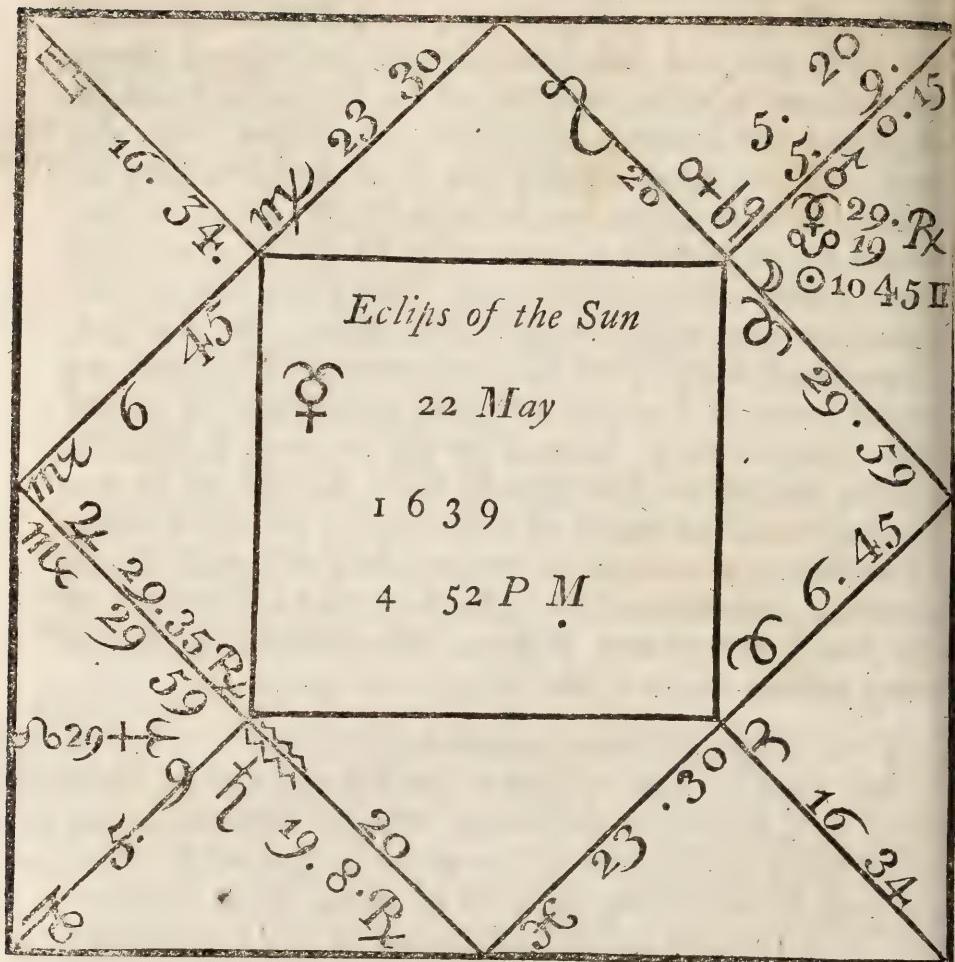
tered the room, called for the Articles the *Scots* desired to be ratified, or consented-unto, read them scarce over, but took pen and ink immediately, and signed them, without ever advising with any of his *Council*: which so displeased the *Nobility* of the *English Nation*, that, the very next day after signing the *Scots* Articles, they all hasted home to their own habitations, the King staying behind: and, for his daily exercise, he played at a scurvy game called *Pidgeon-Holes*, or *Nine-pins*; his fellow-gamesters also were equal to the game, viz. *Lackyes*, *Pages*, and such other *eiusdem generis*. He again no sooner came to *London*, but, as I remember, he caused those Articles to be burned by the common hangman; making himself as ridiculous in doing the one, as he was reputed weak and simple of judgement in doing the other. But at that time most people imputed the burning of the *Scots* Articles, unto the advices given him, and importunity of the proud *Clergy* and *Bishops*, who humoured him in every itching desire of his, even to his ruin.

English Nobles displeased.

There happened many memorable accidents in this year 1639; as, first, five eclipses of the sun and moon; three of the sun, and two of the moon. None of them was visible in our *Horizon*, but that eclipse of the sun, which here began with us at *London* the 22nd of *May*, being Wednesday, at three hours and fifty-two minutes, in the afternoon; its middle was at four hours and fifty-two minutes, and its end at forty-six minutes after five. The digits eclipsed were eight hours, fifty one minutes, forty-one seconds; the whole time of its continuance was one hour, and fifty-four minutes of time: The scheme of Heaven follows.

Eclipse of the sun.
May 22, 1639.

His



His Majesty was in the field against the *Scots*, at the very time of the Eclipse ; and some that were there with him said, they felt not a more sharp, cold, day in all their lives, than that was ; the season of the year, and height of the Sun, considered. I will meddle little with the prognostick part of this Eclipse : yet I might tell you, that *Mercury*, at the time of the beginning of the eclipse, represented the *Clergy*, and he was retrograde near to *Conjunction* with *Mars*, one ill omen unto the *Clergy* : at the middle of the eclipse, the Moon was their significator, and she combust and near the *Dragon's-tail* ; which signified much calamity unto the Priests. This eclipse signified unto the King much treachery, and damage by his friends the *Scots* ; the degree eclipsed was in the opposite degree,

degree, almost of the ☽ in his Radix. As this eclipse shewed his troubles or their beginning, so the ☽ her eclipse in 8 ♀, in 1648, ended his afflictions, &c.

The effects of this Eclipse had most influence upon the King of Spain, it falling even in the very degree of his *seventh house*; so that upon the 11th, or 12th, of October, 1639, upon our English coast, and under our noses, almost in our harbour, the *Hollander* burnt and sunk a great navy of his, with many miserable souls in the navy, which were intended to be landed in *Flanders*. I know some persons have not stuck to affirm, that the 8000 men, transported in the Spanish navy, were intended to have been landed here, in assistance of his Majesty: but it was a mere untruth; for who could have hindered their landing in *Kent*, if his Majesty had commanded it? Sure I am, the *Spaniard* took it ill at his Majesty's hand, that he suffered them to perish so near our harbour; they also took exception, that, his Majesty having promised them ammunition and powder, (which it seems they wanted,) it came not at the place for them (either by neglect or treachery of our officers,) until they were worsted. The truth of the story of those 8000 *Spaniards* in the navy, was thus: There was a part of that country where the *Walloons* inhabit, under the dominion of the King of Spain in the *Netherlands*, which was observed to be very disaffected unto him. Now, upon the landing of these Spanish troops amongst the *Walloons*, the same number of that people were to have been transported into *Spain*, &c. When his Majesty first heard of the Spanish and Dutch fleet, and their near approach, he said to one standing by him, *I would I were well rid of both navies*. To speak the truth of him, either as he was virtuous or vicious, is not to wrong him; but, in every trivial miscarriage, to make him the author of it, I hold it barbarous, and not the part of an honest, moral, man.

In this memorable year, the *Scots*, by Act amongst themselves, thrust-out all *Bishops*, who afterwards came sneaking hither, and had, by *Canterbury's* means, large and plentiful exhibitions for their maintenance. His Majesty took the expulsion of the *Bishops* so ill, that he resolved to check the sauciness of the *Scots*, his dear country-

Eclipse portending ill to Spain, the reason why. Spanish Fleet defeated by the Dutch, October 12, 1639.

His Majesty vindicated from a slander.

Story of the 8000 Spanish soldiers on board the defeated Spanish Navy.

Bishops thrust out of Scotland.

Scots in Arms.

A Parliament called
in April, 1640.

Dissolved in May,
1640.

Sauciness of the
Scots, who enter
England. August 17,
1640.

Get possession of
Newcastle.
The English will not
fight.

The Priests willing
and forward.

The Episcopal War
with the Scots.

Bishop Wrenn a
busy Priest.

men, and caused their trade with us to be prohibited, and their ships to be seized ; which so enraged the *Scottish* nation, that they were again, in 1640, in arms. The King summons a Parliament in *April* about the *Scots* : which *Parliament* would not give a farthing unto him towards the maintenance of his intended army against the *Scots*. Therefore, in *May*, he dissolves the *Parliament* ; which gave great discontent all over the *Nation*, and great encouragement unto the *Scots* : whereupon their army was suddenly ready, and their presumption such, that, without invitation, they, on the 17th of *August*, 1640, entered *England*. The King prepares an army of *English* to resist them ; but such was the general inclination even of the common soldiers, and so great an odium, or hatred, was cast upon *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that nothing could serve the common soldiers but a *Parliament* ; not a man of the *English* would fight against the *Scots*, who had now crept into the strong town of *Newcastle*. Our soldiers were mutinous, and the officers generally disaffected to the service ; in some countries, the newly-raised soldiers slew their officers, and would not go. But all these commotions moved the King little to desist from the war ; which was continually furthered by the *Bishops* and *Clergy*, who, in their Convocation, gave a large benevolence towards the maintenance of those wars, and commanded their tribes, in their several pulpits, to inveigh, and cry-aloud against the profane *Scots*, and to persuade the people to assist as willingly as against Infidels or *Turks*. His Majesty again commanded the Nobility to attend him in this Northern expedition, who leisurely, and, rather unseasonably or unwillingly than otherwise, attended him at *York*.

All men knew this war was promoted by the *Clergy*, whom the *Nobility* began to disdain and scorn, and the *Gentry* and *Yeomanry* of *England* extremely to hate : for, at this present time, the *High-Commission Court* and other bawdy *Courts*, did most horrible injustice against the persons and estates of any *Gentleman*, who, by misfortune, was brought before them. There was also one *Wrenn*, *Bishop of Norwich*, born in *London* ; a fellow, whose father sold *Babies*, and such *pedlery-ware*, in *Cheapside* : this

this fellow, very peremptorily, one day, as he sat in *Judicature*, in the *High-commission Court*, said openly, he hoped to live and see the time, when a Master of *Arts*, or a *Minister*, should be as good a man as any *Jack Gentleman* in *England*. And, verily, the pride of this saucy Citizen's Son, hath been one main cause of the ruin of the *Clergy*. Concerning this *Wrenn*, I know that *Canterbury* preferred him, and brought him to those Ecclesiastical advancements in *Court* and *Church*, which he enjoyed; I do also know, and have heard it from some who waited on *Canterbury* in his chamber, that he would oft say, "That the rash actions, and unwarrantable proceedings, of this *Wrenn* would undo the *Clergy*;" but, in regard that he had been the sole means of his advancement, he could not well do any act prejudicial against him, but it would redound to the dishonour of himself, and the *Clergy* in general. Also he had many reluctancies in himself, for preferring so unworthy and scornful a fellow, who proved the scandal and scorn of *Church-men*, and an extraordinary plague to the whole *Nation*: for, upon his plaguing and punishing many godly clothiers in the countries of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they were inforced to leave their native *country*, and betake themselves and families into the *United Provinces*, where they have taught the *Dutch* the Art and Manufacture of Clothing, even to the utter impoverishment of this whole *Nation*, &c. And yet this wretched *Wrenn* lives, &c.

Abuses the Gentry.

Laud, his Judgement
of Wrenn.

As I remember, near upon, or in, this year 1639, or 1640, the Citizens of *London* were miserably abused by a beggarly Knight, one Sir *Phillips* of *Ireland*, who exhibited his bill against them, for certain misdemeanours, pretended to be committed by some of their sub-officers in *Ireland*, about the parts of *Londonderry*. True it is, the Citizens of *London*, very gallantly, about the coming-in of King *James*, or not long after, sent Colonies of their own, in great numbers, and at their own extreme great charges, to settle a civil plantation in the North of *Ireland*. They had a large Patent from King *James*, and many privileges granted unto them for their so doing, and planting; and for above thirty years they had quietly possessed their own lands there; and had built many beautiful market-

The Londoners
tormented by one
Phillips, near this
year.

The noble Perform-
ances of the London-
ers in *Ireland*.

They are abused and fined in the Star-chamber.

And lose their Land in Ireland.

Will not assist against the Scots.

The Eclipse not the cause of Evil, but a Sign to shew the Evil.

Another Parliament called.

The Earl of Strafford, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, sent for.

A man of rare parts.

Poisoned with ferment.

towns, and one, or more, City or Cities, and many Churches, in the territories assigned them. But near these years of 1639 and 1640, this Sir *Phillips* demanding some unreasonable things of the Citizens, and being denied them, he, in malice, exhibits his bill for misdemeanours of their officers, against the *Londoners*, in the *Star-chamber*, and brought the cause unto a hearing; and the Court of *Star-chamber* fined the *Londoners* deeply, and adjudged their plantations to be forfeited to the King; who as eagerly and greedily swallowed them for his own. This very act, in, or near, this exigence of time, so imbibited the spirits of the Citizens, that, although they were singularly invited for loan of moneys, and had as great plenty in their possessions as ever, yet they would not contribute any assistance, or money, against the *Scots*, or to the advance of his Majesty in this his *Scottish* expedition. And, though I do not attribute these casualties and losses of the Cities, to be derived or caused from the eclipse of 1639, although the eclipse was in **II**, which sign is the ascendant of *London*; yet certainly, that eclipse did, in a natural way, threaten, or portend, much damage unto them, and did manifest the casualties, but was not the cause.

There was at last a cessation of arms, by consent of both parties, *Scots* and *English*. Some petty scuffling there was to no purpose; and the King, when he saw no other means could be thought-on for to serve his turn, and that the common soldiers unanimously refused engaging with the *Scots*, and finding himself also pressed by the constant and earnest desire of the *English* Nobility, which attended him, he, with much unwillingness, at length, was content, to give summons for another Parliament, to be convened on the third day of *November*, 1640. But, you must understand, in the mean while, that, when the King saw he could no ways engage the *English* against the *Scots*, he had sent unto *Ireland* for the then present Lord-deputy, the Earl of *Strafford*, (formerly Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman by birth, and one who had formerly been a great stickler against him, until, poisoned with *Court-preferment*, he turned *Royalist*, and so was made Lord-deputy of *Ireland*; a man of the rarest parts, and deepest judgement of any *Englishman* living;) I say,

I say, he sent for this *Strafford* to consult with him about composing these emergent differences. *Strafford* advises with *Canterbury*, all to little purpose: (for the Bishop was a very ass in any thing but Church-matters;) the hand of Providence now going along with the *Parliament* and *Commonwealth*, who became Masters of the affections of all publick-spirited people, the King daily declining. In April, 1641, the Parliament accuse *Strafford* for several Misdemeanors, Treasons, Tyrannies, &c. against the Commonwealth, during his government in *Ireland*. The Parliament follow it so lustily, that, notwithstanding *Strafford* spoke and defended himself as well as any mortal man in the world could do, yet, he was found guilty, had his sentence to die, and did die. The Earl of *Arundel*, being Lord High Steward, the King signed the warrant for his death, either by himself or by Commissioners. Thus died *Strafford*, the wisest Politician this Nation ever bred.

People in love with Parliament.

Decline the King.

Strafford accused.

Sentenced to die.

The King signs a warrant for his death.

Accused for it.

All men accuse the King for his falseness and cowardice unto this man; who, being satisfied, in his own conscience, that *Strafford* was not guilty of Treason or Death, but only of misdemeanours, yet, signed a warrant, either under his own hand, or by Commissioners, for his execution. Some there are who do say, that with the same pen, and at the same time, he signed the warrant against *Strafford*, and also the Act for a *triennial* or *perpetual* Parliament, which should not be dissolved without consent of both Houses. Many affirm, the Queen procured him to do both those things; others impute it to *Hambleton**: it matters not who did it, or persuaded him to it. It was his ruin, &c.

* That is, the Duke of Hamilton.

The matter is not of great importance, who the persons were that invited the *Scots* to come into *England*. Some thought that *Pym*, *Hambden*, and several other Gentlemen, were instrumental to it: and it is very likely that they were so, and that the King knew as much, but could not remedy it. The Parliament, however, in policy and judgement, gave the *Scots* a round sum of money for their losses, and ordered them to depart this Kingdom; which they did: so that in August, 1641, the King went into *Scotland*, purposely to pacify and compose the present threatening differences there.

The Scots depart out of England.

The King goes into Scotland.

In the same month of August, 1641, I beheld the old Queen-Mother of France, departing from London, in company

pany of *Thomas Earl of Arundel*. A sad spectacle of mortality it was, and produced tears from mine eyes, and many other beholders, to see an aged, lean, decrepid, poor *Queen*, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her, but where the courtesy of her hard fortune assigned it. She had been the only stately and magnificent woman of *Europe*, wife to the greatest King that ever lived in *France*, mother unto one King and unto two Queens. The King cared not much for the Earl of *Arundel*; being, he was of a severe and grave nature, could not endure Court-novelties or flatterers, was potent in Allies, &c. But there was one thing, or cause, mainly above the rest, and that was, because the Earl of *Arundel*, being Lord High Steward, and Judge in *Strafford's* trial, gave his voice that he was guilty of Treason, &c. The Earl also had, but a few years before, given the King a touch of his own great heart, and the King's unthankfulness unto him and his family. The case was thus: A Priest pretends the King had a right in a Rectory, which the Earl challenged for his; and the Priest had procured *Canterbury* for his friend and second. The matter had many debates: for *Arundel* was no fool, but stood stoutly for his right; *Canterbury* was as violent for the Priest, and had procured the King to take cognisance of, or hear, the matter himself. The King, upon some slight evidence, maintained that the right was his, *viz.* belonged to the Crown. The Earl, (seeing the obstinacy of the King, and his siding with a petty Priest against him and his proper right,) out of the greatness of his heart, said, SIR, *This Rectory was an appendant unto such a Manor of mine, until my Grand-father (unfortunately) lost both his life and seventeen Lordships more, for the love he bore to your Grand-mother.* This was a smart speech, and home to the purpose; it so astonished the King, that he replied, pretty mildly: *My Lord, I would not have you think, that so poor a thing as this Rectory, or thing in question, shall stand in competition betwixt my respect unto you and your family, which I know to be deserving, &c.* After that time the Earl little liked the King's actions, and therefore took this opportune occasion of going-away with the Queen-mother, and,

The Queen-Mother
of France, goes out
of England.

The King loves not
Arundel.

Is unthankful to
him; takes part with
a Priest against him.

**Arundel's noble and
stout speech to the
King.**

The King's Answer
to him.

and, when one said unto him, his Majesty would miss him ; *It's an ill dog* (said the Earl) *that's not worth whistling* ; and, though he is a King, he will find Arundel's affections unto him would not have been inconsiderable, &c. Some few years since, this Earl died at Padua, being the last man of the English Nation that maintained the gravity and port of the antient Nobility ; a great lover of antiquities, and of the English Nation. He brought-over the new way of building with brick in the City, greatly to the safety of the City, and the preservation of the wood of this Nation. He was a great patron of decayed Gentry, and, being Lord High-Marshal of England, carried too strict a hand against the Yeomanry and Commonalty ; for which he was nothing beloved, but rather hated, of them : however, the Gentry and Nobility owe much unto his memory.

Arundel dies at Padua.

A very gallant man.

In October, 1641, the Irish unanimously rebell and massacre the poor English ; who were not able to relieve themselves, as matters at that time were handled, wanting able Governours to direct them. And, the very truth is, that the way which at first was taken to suppress the rebellion, did only support it ; for, confidence being placed by the Irish Government in some of the Irish Nobility, and many of them being furnished with arms, they supplied their own kindred, being native Irish, with part of them, who were no sooner possessed of arms, but they became errant Traitors to the English.

Irish Rebellion and Massacre.

Irish Nobles all naught, but a few.

A great question will here arise, whether the murder of the English was by consent or commission from the King unto the Irish. Many have affirmed, in words and in print publickly, that he should be guilty of such a villainous act ; which I cannot believe, in regard, I could never have any assured relation, what those Commissions were, which the Irish boasted-of, they being only the affirmations of the Catholick Irish, purposely to win others unto their party, and seducing many, by saying, they acted by the King's Commissions. Had this been true, it had been more than equal unto his assisting for the destruction of Rochell ; but I may hope better things, both as he was a Protestant, a Christian, and a King. Yet, methinks, there is little satisfaction given unto this, in his late pretended book. Two main things are objected against the King, which that

Whether the King gave Commission for the Massacre of the English.

Cleared of that expression.

book meddles not with, or answers: First, why his Ma-jesty was so tender-hearted to the *Irish*, as not to suffer above forty Proclamations to issue-out against those Rebels in *Ireland*; and those also to no purpose, or unop-portunely, when too late. Besides, to shew his respect unto them I know he obliterated with his own hand, the words *Irish Rebels*, and put-in the words *Irish Subjects*, in a manuscript discourse; written by Sir *Edward Walker*, and presented unto him, (which I have seen) of the *Irish* rebellion, &c. Secondly, whereas, the Parliament were sending-over clothes and other necessaries, for the *Eng-lish* soldiers in *Ireland*, the King seized them as they went, and armed and furnished the *English* and *Welsh* with them against the Parliament. The reasons of these two actions, are omitted by the penner of his Portraiture.

The King, tender to
the Irish Rebels, calls
them Irish subjects,
not rebels.

Seizeth clothes and
moneys which the
Parliament were
sending thither.

It entertained by the
Londoners.

Gives them good
words.

Tells the Parliament
all is quiet in Scot-
land.

The miseries of this
Nation begin in Ja-
nuary 1641-42.

King and Parliament
disagree.

In November, 1641, the Parliament still sitting, the King comes for *London*, is entertained by them in the greatest State that might be, and is met on the way by some hundreds in gold chains; and nothing is now cried, but *Hosanna, welcome home, your Majesty is welcome*. The Queen, perceiving a breach was likely to take place betwixt the King and Parliament thought politically to en-gage the City for him. He gives the Citizens good words, tells them, he will give them their Lands in *Ireland* again, a promise he was never able to perform, &c. As I remem-ber, he also, at their request, kept his Christmas at White-hall, having otherwise intended to have kept it at Hampton-Court; and he also knighted some of the *Aldermen*. At his return from *Scotland*, he affirmed in a speech he made u. to both Houses, how he had left that Kingdom in as quiet and good Condition as could be expected; The Devil was in the Crags of the Scots, if he left them not content-ed, when he had given them whatever they required, and had signed whatever they desired or demanded, confirmed as much as their large Consciences could require.

But now in January 1641, began a Sea of misfortunes to fall upon us, and overwhelm our long-continued hap-piness, by disagreement of the King and the two Houses of Parliament, and partly by the daily coming to the *Parliament House* of many hundred Citizens, sometimes in a very rude manner.

True

True it is, the King disliked these too frequent addresses unto both Houses in so tumultuous and unwarrantable a manner ; whereupon, fearing the worst, (as himself pretended) he had a Court of Guard, before *White-hall*, of the Trained-Bands ; he had also many dissolute Gentlemen, and some very civil, that kept within *White-hall*, with their Swords by their sides, to be ready upon any sudden occasion. Verily, Men's fears now began to be great ; and it was by many perceived, that the *King* began to swell with anger against the proceedings of *Parliament*, and to intend a War against them ; some speeches dropt from him to that purpose. It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of Citizens came by *White-hall*, one busy Citizen must needs cry, *No Bishops*. Some of the Gentlemen issued-out of *White-hall*, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve ; else, it seems, with blows. What passed on either side in words, none but themselves knew. The Citizen, being more tongue than Soldier, was wounded, and, I have heard, died of his wounds received at that time. It hath been affirmed by very many, that in, or near unto, that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late King's Head was cut-off, the SCAFFOLD standing just over that place.

Those People, or Citizens, who used thus to flock unto *Westminster*, were, most of them, Men of mean, or a middle, quality, themselves, having no Aldermen, Merchants, or Common-Council-Men among them ; but they were set-on by some of better quality : and yet most of them were either such as had publick spirits, or lived a more religious life than the vulgar, and were usually called *Puritans*, and had suffered under the tyranny of the Bishops. In the general they were very honest Men and well-meaning : some particular fools, or others, perhaps, now and then, got-in amongst them, greatly to the disadvantage of the more sober. They were modest in their apparel, but not in their language ; they had the hair of their heads very few of them longer than their ears ; whereupon it came to pass, that those who usually with their cries attended at *Westminster* were by a Nickname called *Round-heads*.

The

Hath a Guard.

People begin to fear.

King intends a war.

A saucy Citizen corrected too severely near Whitehall.

Quality of the Citizens who flocked to Westminster.

They had suffered under Bishops, and were honest men.

How the names of Roundhead and Cavalier began.

The Courtiers again, wearing long hair and locks, and always Sworded, at last were called by these men *Cavaliers*; and so, after that this broken language had been used awhile, all that adhered unto the *Parliament* were termed *Round-heads*, and all that took part or appeared for his Majesty were termed *Cavaliers*, few of the vulgar knowing the sense of the word *Cavalier*. However, the present hatred of the Citizens was such unto Gentlemen, especially Courtiers, that few durst come into the City or, if they did, they were sure to receive affronts and be abused.

The citizens were much abused during all King Charles's reign.

To speak freely and ingenuously, what I then observed of the City tumults, was this : First, the sufferings of the Citizens who were any thing well-devoted, had, during all this King's reign, been such and so great, (being harrowed or abused continually, either by the *High commission Court* or the *Star-chamber*,) that, as men in whose breasts the spirit of Liberty had some place, they were even glad to vent-cut their sighs and sufferings in this rather tumultuous than civil manner ; being assured, that, if ever this *Parliament* had been dissolved, they must have been racked, whipt and stript by the snotty Clergy, and other extravagant courses ; and for any amendment which they might expect from the King, they too well knew his temper ; that, though in a time of *Parliament* he often promised to redress any Grievances, yet the best friend he hath cannot produce any one Act of good for his Subjects done by him in the vacancy of a *Parliament*. The losers usually have leave to speak, and so had the Citizens.

N. B.

The King never performed his promises when a Parliament was not sitting.

Private consultations at court.

The King rashly enters the House of Commons. January 1641-42.

Demands five Members.

All this Christmas, 1641, there was nothing but private whisperings in Court, and secret Councils held by the Queen and her party, with whom the King sat in Council very late many nights. What was the particular Result of those clandestine Consultations, it will presently appear.

January 4, 1641. By what sinister Counsel led, I know not ; but the King in Person went into the then Lower House of *Parliament* where the Commons sat, and, for some things he had been informed of, demanded five of their principal Members, viz. Pimm, Hollis, Hazlerigg, Hampden

Iambden and Stroud, to be delivered-up to him, as guilty of high treason. In that Book called his *Portraiture*, he affirms that he went to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon those five Members ; and saith, he thought he had discovered some unlawful correspondencies and engagements they had made to embroil his Kingdoms ; he confesseth he missed but little of procuring some writings, &c. to make his thoughts good. So here is no Evidence against these Members, but his own Thoughts, as himself confesseth. But assuredly, had he demanded Justice of the House of Commons against them, and proved his Charge, he might have had it. But, for himself to attach their Bodies, and be Judge also (as he intended) was a matter most unequal ; and, surely, had it been in his power to have got their bodies, he would have served these Members as he did Sir John Elliot, whom, without cause, he had committed to the Tower, and never would either release him, or shew cause of his commitment, till his death.

He had no evidence against them.

His cruelty to Elliot, a Parliament-man.

All that time he had a Guard with him at the door of the House of Parliament, consisting of many Gentlemen with Halberts and Swords. Truly I did not hear that there was any incivility offered by those Gentlemen then attending unto any Member of the House, his Majesty having given them strict Commands to the contrary. This rash action of the King's lost him his Crown : for, as he was the first of Kings that ever, or so imprudently, brake the priviledges by his entrance into the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, so, by that unparalleled Demand of his, he utterly lost himself, and left scarce any possibility of reconcilement ; he not being willing to trust them, nor they to trust him, who had so often failed them. It was my fortune that very day to dine in *White-hall*, and in that room where the Halberts, newly brought from the Tower, were lodged for the use of such as attended the King to the House of Commons. Sir Peter Wich, ere we had fully dined, came into the room I was in, and brake-open the Chests wherein the Arms were, which frighted us all that were there ; however, one of our Company got out of doors, and presently informed some Members that the King was preparing to come unto the House ; else I believe all those Members,

His attendants did no affront at Westminster.

This attempt brought-on, at length, the loss of his Crown.

or

or some of them, would have been taken in the House; all that I could do farther was presently to be gone. But it happened also the same day, that some of my neighbours were at the Court of Guard at *White-hall* unto whom I related the King's present Design, and conjured them to defend the *Parliament* and Member thereof, in whose well or ill doing consisted our happiness or misfortune; they promised assistance, if need were; and, I believe, would have stoutly stood to it for defence of the Parliament or Members thereof. The King lost his reputation exceedingly by this his improvident and unadvised demand; yet, notwithstanding his failure of success in the attempt, so wilful and obstinate was he in pursuance of that preposterous course he intended, and so desirous to compass the bodies of these five members, that the next day he posted and trotted into the city to demand the Members there: he convened a meeting at *Guild-hall*; and the Common-Council assembled: but *Mum* could he get there; for the Word, *London-Derry*, was then fresh in every Man's mouth.

The King's reputation lost.

Next day he trots into the city; demands the Members there.

The Author of the late King's Book a liar.

The King was not affronted in the city.

Goodness of the citizens and faithfulness to the Parliament.

The five Members brought to the Parliament, January 10, 1641-42.

But, whereas the Author of the King's Portraiture complains that the insolency of the tumults was such, that his Majesty's person was in danger in the Streets; This is a very untruth. For, notwithstanding his Majesty dined in the City that day on which he required the five Members of the Citizens, yet he had no incivility in the least measure offered unto his person; only many cried-out as he passed the streets; Sir, *Let us have our just Liberties; we desire no more.* Unto which he several times answered, *They should, &c.*

An honest Citizen, as I remember, threw into his Coach a new Sermon, the Text whereof was, as I now remember; *To thy Tents, Oh Israel.* Indeed the Citizens (unto their everlasting honour be it spoken) did, with much resolution, protect the *five Members*, and many thousands were willing to sacrifice their lives for defence of the Parliament and the several Members thereof.

The tenth of January approached and came, upon which day *the five demanded Members* were brought unto the House of Commons with as much Triumph as could be expressed, several Companies of Trained-Bands marching

marching to the Parliament to assist, if need were ; there were upon the Thames River I know not how many Barges full of Sailors, having some Guns ready-charged, if occasion were ; and these also came in multitudes to serve the Parliament. A word dropt out of the King's mouth a little before, which lost him the love of the Seamen ; some person being in conference with his Majesty, acquainted him, that he was lost in the affection of the Seamen ; for they intended to petition the House, &c. I wonder, quoth the King, *How I have lost the affection of these Water-Rats.* A word, sure, that slipt out of his mouth unadvisedly ; for all men must and do know, that the Ships of England and our valiant Sailors, are the very strength of England.

Sailors, their love to the Parliament.

The King called the Seamen Water-Rats.

His Majesty, finding nothing thrived on his side, and seeing the abundant affection of the Commonalty in general for the Parliament, the aforesaid tenth of January, 1641, went unto *Hampton-court*, and never after could, by intreaty or otherwise, be drawn to come unto his Parliament, though they, in most humble wise, and by many and several addresses, exceedingly desired it. One misfortune follows another ; for the 25th of February, 1641, the Queen went into Holland, and afterwards the King into Yorkshire. There was at this time a sufficient Magazine of Arms in Hull, being the remainder of those employed against the Scots. The Parliament sent-down a Member of their own, one Sir John Hotham, to take care of them, who undertook and also did maintain the Town, and preserve the Arms therein, for the Parliament : for, although his Majesty, in April, 1642, came unto the Walls of the Town to require them, yet could he neither procure Arms, or admittance into the Town.

In haste and anger leaves White-hall.
January 10, 1641-42.

Goes into Yorkshire.

Is not admitted into Hull.
Sir Jo. Hotham keeps it for the Parliament.

The Earl of Warwick, (who was exceedingly beloved of the Seamen,) secured the Navy ; so that in few days the Parliament had store of Arms for Land-Soldiers, and plenty of Stout Ships for their Sea-occasions. His Majesty in the mean time being destitute both of the affections of his People and means to supply an Army, which it was perceived he intended shortly to raise, returned from viewing Hull unto York. The Parliament having perfect intelligence, and being assured he would

The Earl of Warwick gets possession of the Navy for the Parliament.

Many of the Lords and Commons leave London, and fly to the King at York.

Essex remains at London, and is made General of the Parliament-Forces.

The hand of God was in it.

Few Noblemen good, or fit to be trusted.

The Citizens List many Soldiers under Essex.

The Parliament-army had many a false knave in it in the first Expedition.

Army against them, began to consider of their present condition; whom to make their General, and how to raise Men and Money for their own and the Commonwealth's defence. But a man would have blessed himself to see what running and trotting-away here was, both of Lords and Commoners, unto his Majesty. I do assure you a very thin House was left; of the Lords who remained, *Essex* the People's darling, was the Chief; a most noble soul and generally well esteemed; he in this exigency was by both Houses nominated and voted to be the Parliament's General. I do herein admire at the wonderful Providence of Almighty GOD, who put it into the People's heart to make this Man General, this very Earl, this good man, who had suffered beyond belief, by the partial judgement of King James, who, to satisfy the Letchery of a lustful Scot, took-away *Essex* his Wife (being a lewd Woman) for one Carr, alias Earl of *Somerset*, she pretending that *Essex* was *frigidus in coitu*, and old *Jemmy* believing it.

Had *Essex* refused to be General, our Cause in all likelihood had sunk in the beginning, we having never a Nobleman at that time, either willing or capable of that Honour and Preferment; indeed scarce any of them were fit to be trusted. So that God raised up *Essex* to be a scourge for the Son of him by whom he had been so unjustly abused: And, for the Countess, she had abundance of sorrow ere she died, and felt the Divine hand of Heaven against her; for she was incapable of coition at least a dozen years before she died, having an impediment in that very Member which she had so much delighted-in and abused; and this I had from the mouth of one who saw her when bowelled. As for *Somerset* himself, he died a poor Man, contemptible and despised of every man; and yet I never heard any ill of that *Scottish Man*, except in this single business concerning the Earl of *Essex* and his Wife. In this Summer the Citizens listed themselves plentifully for Soldiers; Horse and Arms were provided, and the Lord knows how many treacherous Knaves had Commands in this first Expedition in the Parliament's Army; so that, if God himself had not been on our side, we must of necessity have perished.

The

The Youth of the City of London made-up the major
part of *Essex* his Infantry : his Horses were good, but
the Riders unskilful ; for they were taken-up as they
came and listed or offered themselves unto the Service.
The truth is, the Parliament were, at that time, glad to
see any Men's willingness and forwardness unto their
service ; therefore they promised large, and made some
leasing Votes ; so that the Plate and Monies of the
Citizens came tumbling into Guild-hall upon the Pub-
lick Faith.

The Parliament pro-
mises largely.
Plate and Money
come-in apace for
the service of the
Parliament.

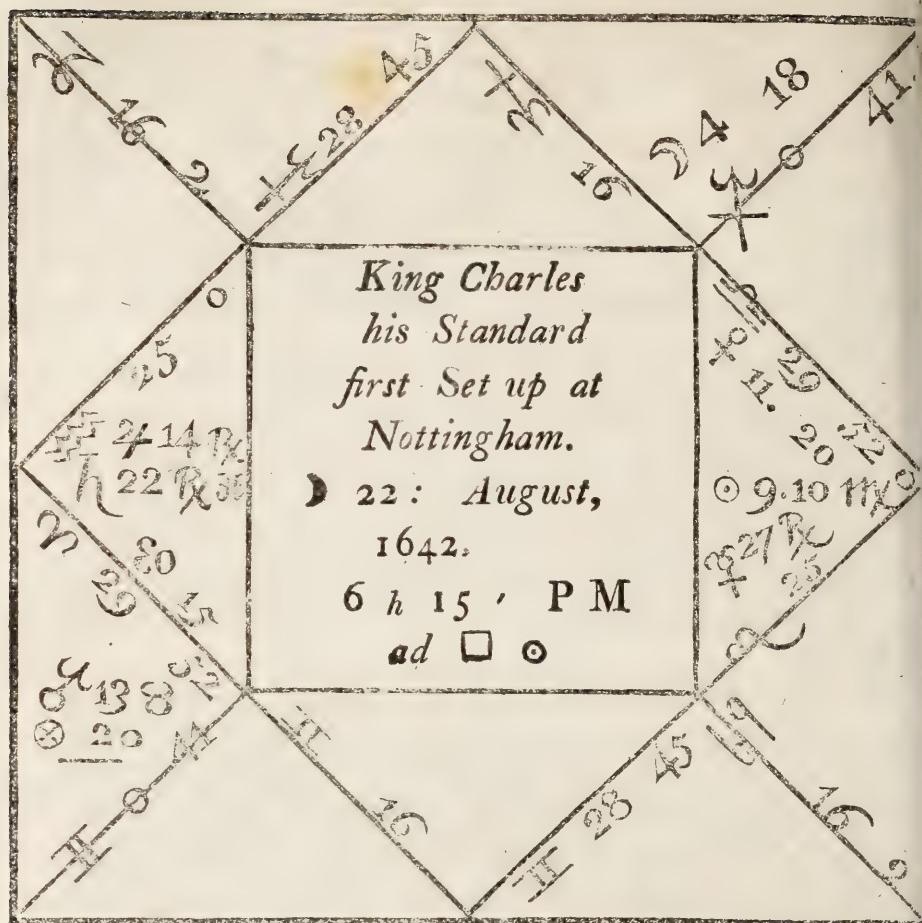
His Majesty in the interim, and at that time, was neces-
itated for Money and Arms extremely, having no *Maga-
zine* to command but those of the Northern Countries ;
ea, into what other Country soever he came (and he
raversed many) he was so courteous that he made shift to
eize their arms and carry them along with him, pretending
hat he would use them for the safety of the People and
his Person.

His Majesty did want
provisions of Arms.

The King had lain most part at York, or rambled into
some other Counties near adjacent, until August, and done
little to any purpose ; for the several Counties were ge-
nerally nothing inclinable to his purpose, in most whereof
and in every County he came into, he rather received petty
affronts than support. Yet at last he came to Notting-
ham, and there set-up his STANDARD (with a full reso-
lution for War) the 22nd of August, 1642, under this
Constellation, having some few Horse with him ; but in
great expectation of more aid from the Welsh, &c. who,
he thought, were most devoted to Monarchy.

His Standard set-up
at Nottingham.
August 22, 1642.

The



The Heralds, or, at least, those who then were with the King, were ignorant, how, and in what manner, to set up the *Standard-Royal*; they therefore hung it out in one of the Turrets, or upper Rooms, of *Nottingham-Castle*, within the Castle-Wall. King Richard the Third had formerly set-up his Standard there, &c. His Majesty disliked his Standard having been placed within the Castle; he said it ought to be placed in an open place, where all men, that would, might freely come unto it, and not in a Prison; they therefore carried it, at his Command, without the Castle, towards, or into the Park there adjoining, into an open place and easy of access. When they came to fix it in the ground, they perceived it was a mere rock of Stone, so that they with Daggers and Knives made a small hole for the Standard to be put in; but all would not serve, Men were intreated for the present to support it

it with the strength of their arms and bodies, which gave great occasion unto some Gentlemen there present to give a very sad judgement on the King's side, and to divine, long before-hand, that he would never do any good by Arms. I have also heard, that in eight or ten days he had not thirty men that attended the Standard, or listed themselves.

All the remainder of his Life after this August 22, 1642, was a mere labyrinth of Sorrow, a continued and daily misfortune, unto which it seeins that Providence had ordained him from the very entrance of his Reign. His Wars are wrote by several learned hands, unto whom I refer the Reader: I shall only repeat a few more things of him, and then conclude. Favourites he had three, *Buckingham*, stabbed to death; *William Laud*, and *Thomas, Earl of Strafford*, both beheaded. Bishops and Clergy-men, whom he most favored and wholly advanced, and occasionally ruined; he lived to see their Bishopricks sold, the Bishops themselves scorned, and all the whole Clergy of his party and opinion quite undone.

The English Noblemen he cared not much for, but only to serve his own turns by them. Yet such as had the unhappiness to adventure their lives and fortunes for him, he lived to see them and their Families runied only for his sake. Pity it is that many of them had not served a more fortunate Master, and one more grateful.

The Scots, his Countrymen, on whom he bestowed so many favours, he lived to see them in Arms against himself; to sell him for more money than the Jews did Christ, and themselves to be handsomely routed and sold for Knaves and Slaves. They made their best Market of him at all times, changing their affection with his fortune.

The old Prince of *Aurange* he almost beggared; and yet to no purpose, the Parliament, one time or other, getting all the Arms and Ammunition which ever came over unto him: It is confidently averred, that, if the King had become absolute here in *England*, *Aurange* had been King, &c.

The City of *London*, which he had so sorely oppressed, The Londoners.

N and

After 1642, the King had no good days.

His three favourites all come to untimely ends.

Bishops ruined.

He cared nor for the Nobles of England.

He beggared Au.
range.

'Tis pity *Aurange*
lived not to master
the Jew Hollander.

The Parliament superiour to the King.

He cared not for the Spaniards, or they for him.

France cares not for him.

Denmark.

Sweden:

The Princes of Germany.

The Hollanders no better than Turks.

He cares not for them.

and slighted, he lived to see thousands of it's citizens in Arms against him; and to see them thrive, in their opposition to him, and himself to consume unto nothing. The Parliament, which he so abhorred, and formerly scorned; he lived to know was superiour unto him; and the scorns and slights he had used formerly to *Elliott* and others, he saw now returned upon himself in folio.

With *Spain* he had no perfect correspondency, after his return from it; and still less, after he had suffered their fleet to perish in his Havens; and least of all, after he had received an Ambassador from *Portugal*; the *Spaniard* ever upbraiding him with falsehood and breach of promise. Indeed, the Nativities of both Kings were very contrary.

With *France* he had no good amity; the Protestants there, abhorring his legerdemaine and treachery unto *Rochell*; the Papists as little loving or trusting him, for some hard measure offered unto those of their Religion in *England*. He cunningly would labour to please all, but, in effect, gave satisfaction to none.

Denmark could not endure him; and sent him little assistance, if any at all. Besides, the old King suspected another matter, and made a quære in his drink.

The *Swede* extremely complained of him, for not performing of some secret contract betwixt them, and uttered high words against him.

The Protestant PRINCES of *Germany* loathed his very name, &c.

The *Portugal* King and he had little to do with each other. Yet, in one of his own letters to the Queen; though he acknowledges the *Portugal's* courtesy unto him, yet, he saith, that he would give him an answer, unto a thing of concernment, that should signify nothing.

The *Hollanders*, (being only courteous for their own ends, and as far as his money would extend,) furnished him with arms at such rates, as a *Turk* might have had them elsewhere; but they neither loved or cared for him in his prosperity, nor pitied him in his adversity; which occasioned these words to drop from him, "That, if he ever came to his throne, he would make *Hans Butter-box* know he should pay well for his fishing, and satisfy for old knaveries," &c.

In

In conclusion, he was generally unfortunate in the world, in the esteem both of friends and enemies ; his friends exclaim on his breach of faith ; his enemies would say, he could never be fast enough bound. He was more lamented, as he was a King, than for any affection any had unto his person as a man.

He was an unfortunate Man.

He had several opportunities offered him for his restoring : First, by several Treaties, all ending in smoke, by his own perverseness: and, Secondly, by several opportunities and victories, of which he did not make advantage. The first of these was, when *Bristol* had, in a cowardly manner, been surrendered by *Fiennes*. For, if he had then come unto *London*, all had been his own ; but, loitering to no purpose at *Gloucester*, he was, presently after, well banged by *Essex*.

Several opportunities offered for his restoring; all lost.

The second, was, when in the West, *viz.* in *Cornwall*, he had worsted *Essex*. For if he had then immediately hasted to *London*, his army had been, without doubt, masters of that city. For *Manchester* was none of his enemy at that time, though he was General of the Associated Counties.

Manchester, in the year 1644, was no enemy to the King.

Or, if, before the *Scots* came into *England*, he had commanded the Earl of *Newcastle* to march Southward for *London*, he could not have missed obtaining the City ; and then the work had been ended.

Or, when, in 1645, he had taken *Leicester*, if, then, he had speedily marched for *London*, I know not who could have resisted him. But his camp was so overcharged with Plunder and *Irish Whores*, that there was no marching.

Amongst many of his misfortunes, this, which I will now relate, was not the least, *viz.* when the Parliament, the last time, had resolved to send him Propositions unto the *Isle of Wight*, he had advice sent him by his best friends, that the only way,—and that there was no other means remaining upon earth—to make himself happy, and settle a firm Peace betwixt himself and the Parliament, and to bring him out of thraldom, was to receive our Commissioners civilly, and to sign whatever Propositions they should bring with them, and, above all, to make haste to *London*, and to do all things speedily : and he was willing, and promised fairly, to perform thus much. And yet, our Commissioners were no sooner,

Some of our Com-

missioners at Carisbrook, Jugglers.

sooner come to the place of the Treaty, but one * of them, (a subtle old Fox) had, every night, private and long conferences with him ; and when his Majesty had communicated to him his intention, of signing the Propositions of the Parliament, utterly disapproved that resolution, and told him plainly, “ *That he might come into his Parliament upon easier terms ; for, he assured him, that the House of Lords were wholly his, and at his devotion.* (This old man knew that well enough, himself being one of them;) *and that, in the House of Commons, he had such a strong party, that the Propositions would be mitigated, and made more easy and more fit for him to sign.*” Upon this, the old Lord was to be Treasurer, *apud Gæcas Calendas*, and a cowardly son of his † was to be Secretary of State. This was the last and greatest misfortune that ever befel him, to be thus ruled and fooled by that back-sliding Lord, who was never fortunate, either to Parliament or Commonwealth.—But by this action, and the like, you may perceive how easily the King was ever convertible unto the worse advice. In like nature, at the former time of Propositions being sent unto him, when, of himself, he was inclinable to give the Parliament satisfaction by complying with their Propositions, the *Scots* Commissioners, pretending what their cold affectionate country would do for him, dissuaded him from it ; and, upon this, their dissembling, he had so little wit as to slight the *English*, and confide in the *Scots* ; though he well knew that they alone had been the means of ruining him and his posterity, by their juggling, selling, and betraying him.

A false old Lord to be made Lord Treasurer.

The King convertible to ill Advice.

A strange opportunity of escaping from prison lost.

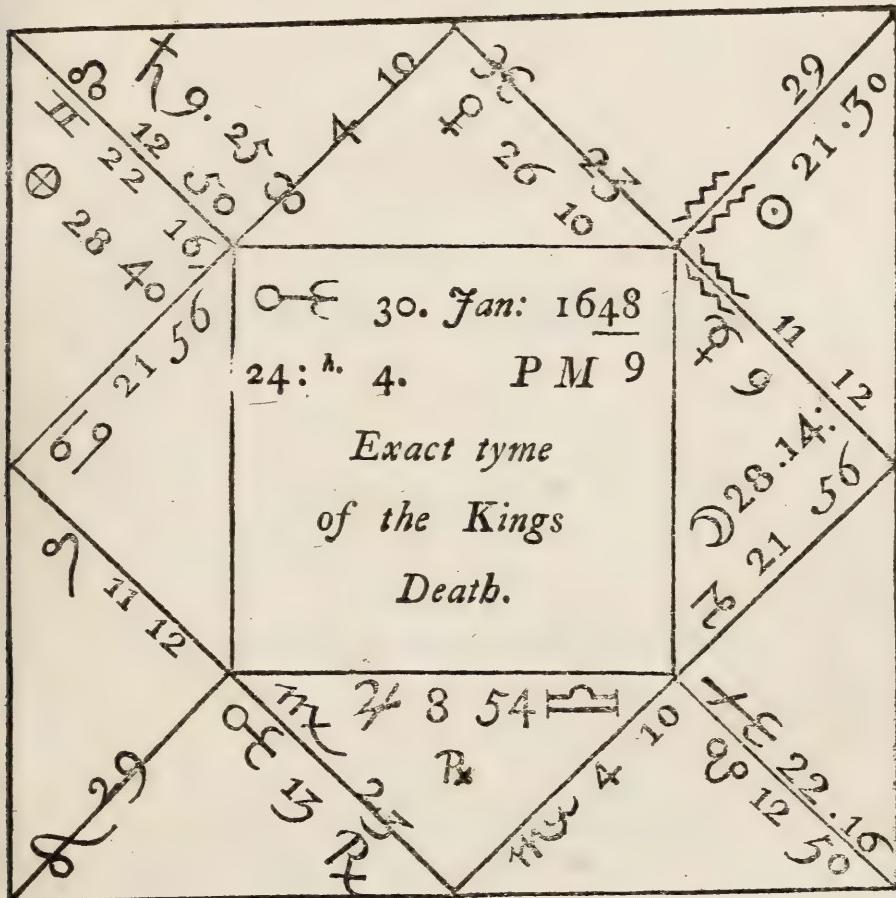
Some Parliament-Men had a hand in this business.

Whilst he was in prison at *Carisbrook Castle*, horses were laid at several stages, both in *Sussex* and *Kent*, purposely to have conveyed him to the *Kentish* forces; so that he might have been at the head of them, and with the revolted ships, if he could have escaped. And he was so near escaping, that his legs and body, even unto his breast, were out of the window. But, whether fear surprised him, or, (as he said himself) he could not get his body out at the window, being full-chested ; he tarried behind, &c. and did not escape. Many such misfortunes attended him ; so that one may truly say, he was, *Regum infelicissimus.*

*The person here alluded-to, was the Lord Say and Seale.

† That is, Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes.

Some affirm, that, before his death, several prodigies appeared. All that I observed, a long time before, was, that there appeared, almost in every year after 1644, several *Parhelia*, or *Mock-Suns*; sometimes two, sometimes three. So, also, *Mock-Moons*, or *Paraselenes*, which ^{suns, appear.} were the greatest prodigies I ever observed or feared. He was beheaded January 30, 1648-49. The figure of that moment is as followeth.



KING CHARLES being dead, and some foolish Citizens going a whoring after his picture, or image, formerly set up in the old Exchange; the Parliament made bold to take it down, and to engrave in it's place these words:

Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliae restitutæ primo, Anno Dom. 1648. Jan. 30.

For my part, I do believe he was not the worst, but the most unfortunate, of Kings.

Many there are, who have hardly censured the Parliament for cutting the KING's Head off. But whosoever shall read a Treatise written in defence of that action, by Master *Goodwin*, will receive plenary satisfaction ; and will see that the Parliament did no other thing but Justice, and what, in conscience, they were bound to do, for preservation of this Commonwealth. The Book, itself, is incomparably well-penned, and unanswerable.

FINIS.

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S

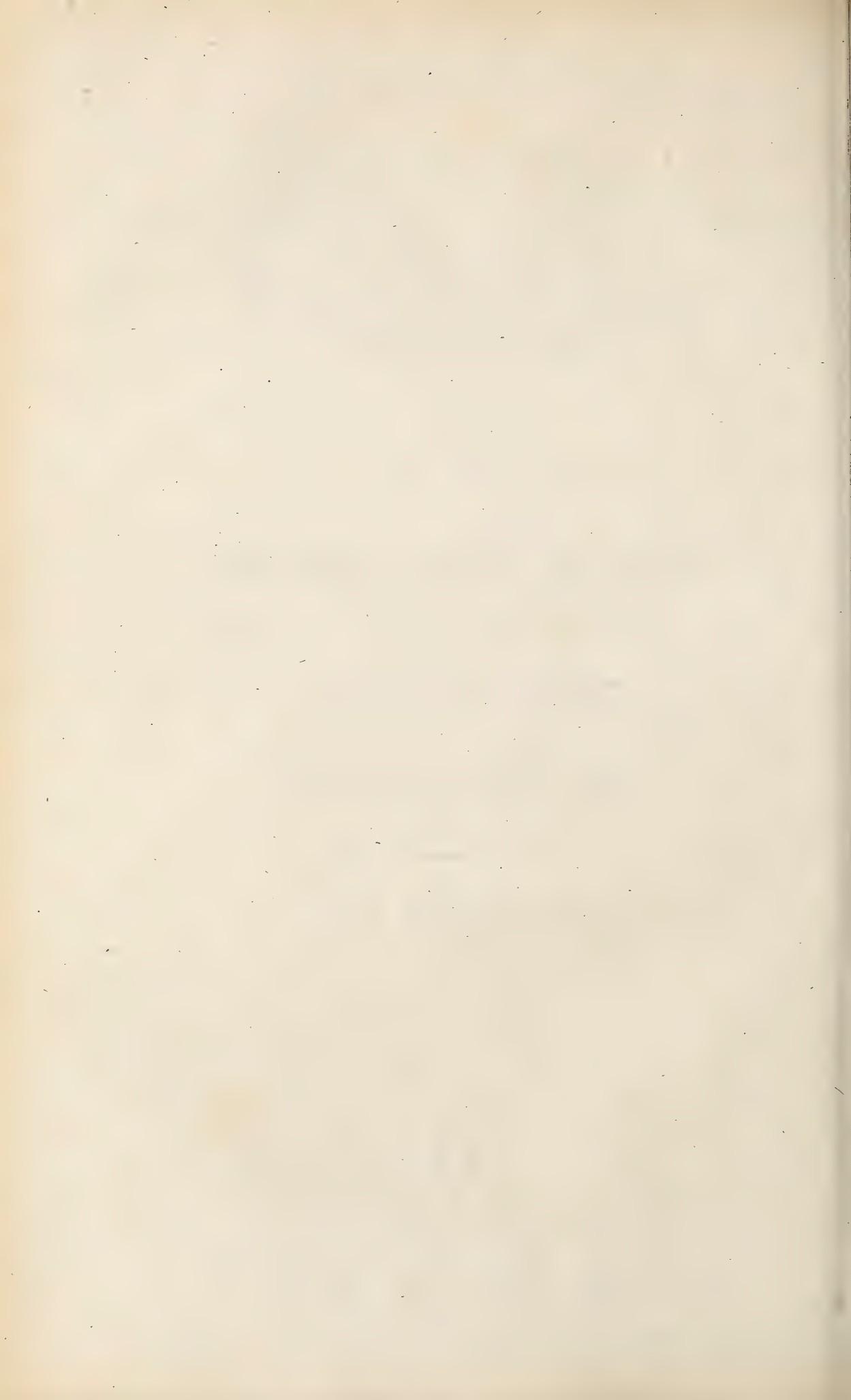
OR

DENZIL, LORD HOLLES,

BARON OF IFIELD IN SUSSEX,

From the Year 1641 to 1648.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1699.



TO

HIS GRACE

JOHN, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, &c.

May it please your Grace;

WHEN the following Papers of the famous Lord *Holles*, your great Uncle, happened to fall into my hands, I could not long deliberate whether they deserved a public view, and therefore intended to get them printed without any farther Ceremony; for the large share he had in the transactions of those times will as much engage others to read these Memoirs, as the Defence he was obliged to make for himself are a sufficient reason for his writing them. But when I understood that your Grace (out of the love you bear to virtuous Actions, and your piety towards so near a Relation) did order a stately Monument to be erected at Dorchester for this illustrious Person, I was of opinion, that as well for that reason, as because in his lifetime he entertained an extraordinary affection and esteem for you, your Name should in like manner be inscribed on this Monument, which he has left of himself to posterity. The Justice of the thing, and the sincerity of my intentions, must be all my Apology to your Grace for this presumption: for the Public (of whom you deserved so well

well, and particularly in appearing early, like your noble Ancestors, for the Liberty of these Nations) will acknowledge it an obligation ; nor, if any thing should chance to be amiss, can I doubt but an easy pardon will be granted to one who is, though unknown, my Lord, with so profound a respect, your Grace's most humble Servant.

March 28, 1699.

THE

THE

PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

SUCH as really desire to know the naked Truth, and propose for their chiefest aim the common good (which are certainly the best, though not the greatest, part of Mankind) have ever expressed a desire in their Writings, of seeing the Memoirs of all parties made publick, as the most effectual means of framing a true General History. For, in those places, where nothing is licensed to appear but what visibly tends to the advantage of one side, there can be no sincere representation of affairs ; the basest Cowards must pass for the bravest Heroes, the worst of Villains for the greatest Saints, the most Ignorant and Vicious, for Men of Learning and Virtue ; and the Enemies of their Country, for its Preservers and Friends. Without consulting, therefore, the particular interest or reputation of any Faction, but only the benefit of *England* in general ; these Memoirs of the great Lord *Holles* are communicated to the world, that, by comparing them with those of *Ludlow*, and such as have appeared before, or will be published hereafter, relating to the same times, they may afford mutual light to each other ; and, after distinguishing the personal resentments, or private biasses, of every one of them, the Truth wherein they are all found to agree (though dressed by them in different garbs) may, by some impartial and skilful hand, be related with more candour, clearness, and uniformity. What figure our Author made in the Parliament, and in the wars, at home and abroad, in his private and publick capacities, is generally known, and needs not therefore be mentioned in this place. The account he gives of himself in the following papers, is confirmed by many living witnesses

nesses as well as, in the greatest part, by other writers of the same transactions. But, whether the vehemence of his style, the barbarous usage he received, his concern for the Presbyterian party, and his displeasure at the King's misfortunes (to whom he was then an adherent and a friend,) have not guided his pencil to draw the lines of *Cromwell's* face too strong, and the shadows too many, I refer to the judgement of the disinterested Reader, desiring him to allow all that is reasonably due to one in these, or the like, circumstances. This caution, Justice has obliged me to insert: For, as to that tyrannical Usurper of the Supreme Administration, who proved so ungrateful to the Commonwealth, so treacherous to the King, and so fatal to both, I think him bad enough painted in his own true colours, without standing in need of exaggerating rhetorick to make him look more odious or deformed. I should write something here likewise with relation to General *Fairfax*, but that the properest place for it, seems to be in a Preface to his own **MEMORIAL**, which is in good hands, and, it is hoped, may be shortly exposed to publick view. How far, soever, King *Charles* the First's Enemies in *England*, may look on themselves as disengaged, or any of his Friends as neglected, by Lord *Holles*, the *Scots* are surely beholding to him; for, in his long Panegyric on that Nation, he has said more in their behalf than their own Historians have ever been able to offer. But in this, and other matters of the like nature, we shall not anticipate the Reader's curiosity or judgement: I shall, therefore, only acquaint him, that, though this Piece be entitled, *Memorials*, from the History it contains, yet, in substance, it is an Apology for that Party who took-up arms, not to destroy the King, or alter the Constitution, but to restore the last, and oblige the former to rule according to Law.

THE
AUTOHR'S EPISTLE, DEDICATORY.

*To the unparalleled Couple, Mr. Oliver St. John, his
Majesty's Sollicitor General, and Mr. Oliver Crom-
well, the Parliament's Lieutenant-General, the two
grand Designers of the Ruin of Three Kingdoms.*

GENTLEMEN,

AS you have been principal in ministring the matter of this Discourse, and giving me the leisure of making it, by banishing me from my Country and Business, so is it reason, I should particularly address it to you. You will find in it some representation of the grosser lines of your features, those outward and notorious enormities, that make you remarkable, and your Pictures easy to be known ; which cannot be expected here so fully to the life as I could wish. He only can do that, whose eye and hand have been with you, in your secret counsels, who have seen you at your Meetings, your Sabbaths, where you have laid-by your assumed shapes (with which you have cozened the world) and resumed your own ; imparting to each other, and both of you to your Fellow-Witches, the bottom of your Designs, the Policy of your Actings, the Turns of your Contrivances, all your Falsehoods, Cozenings, Villainies, and Cruelties, with your full intentions to ruin the three Kingdoms. All I will say to you

is

is no more than what St. Peter said to *Simon, the Sorcerer,*
Repent therefore of this your wickedness, and pray God, if,
perhaps, the Thoughts of your Hearts may be forgiven you.
And, if you have not Grace to pray for yourselves (as it may
be you have not,) I have the Charity to do it for you, but
not Faith enough to trust you. So, I remain, I thank God,
not in your Power, and as little at your Service,

DENZIL HOLLES.

At St. Mere Eglise in, Normandy,
its 14th of February, 1648.
S.V. or 1649, in the
New Style.

MEMOIRS

MEMORIAL

OF

DENZIL, LORD HOLLES.

[N. B. The dates added to the marginal notes, are taken from Whitlock's Memorials. They sometimes seem not to agree with the dates mentioned by Lord Hollis himself, which is not easily accounted for.]

1. THE wisest of men saw it to be a great evil, that Servants should ride on Horses: an evil, now both seen and felt in this unhappy Kingdom. The meanest of men, the basest and vilest of the nation, the lowest of the people, have got the power into their hands; trampled upon the Crown; baffled and misused the Parliament; violated the Laws; destroyed, or suppressed the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom; oppressed the Liberties of the People in general; broke in sunder all Bands and Ties of Religion, Conscience, Duty, Loyalty, Faith, common Honesty, and good Manners; cast-off all Fear of God and Man; and now lord it over the persons and estates of all sorts and ranks of men, from the King on his Throne, to the Beggar in his Cottage: making their Will their Law; their Power their Rule; their hair-brained, giddy, phanatical humour, and the setting-up of a *Babel* of Confusion, the end of all their actions. But how this misery is befallen us, the Kingdom brought so low, and so unworthily, unhappily, inconsiderately delivered over into such base and ignoble hands; the Parliament abused, betrayed, and now become, in show and in name, the instrument of their tyranny, but, in truth, itself made nothing; and (if the presence of the right Speaker be so essential to the being and acting of a Parliament, that Sir Edward Cook says, in his Institutes, the House cannot sit without him) then is there clearly, at present,

sent, no Parliament, but an Assembly of Men, acted and moved by the art and malice of some few sitting among them, by the means of an army, which those few, those Vipers of the Parliament, that have eaten out the bowels of their parent and destroyed her, raised (that is, abused the Parliament, making them raise it) under colour of necessity, for the preservation of the Parliament and Kingdom ; when, in truth, it was out of a design to make themselves Masters of both, that neither of them might ever enjoy peace and Liberty more, to blast our hopes, nip all the fair blossoms of Reformation, dash in sunder all our preparations and endeavours for the establishing of a happy Peace ; and so a glorious promising morning became a day of darkness, a day of treading-down and perplexity : this, I say, will be worth the enquiry, and, perhaps, be no difficult thing to discover, and make so plain, that he who runs may read.

2. Yet, I would not be conceived to attribute so much of wisdom and foresight to these men, as to believe they had laid this whole design, with the several circumstances and steps of proceeding from the beginning ; which not the Devil himself, was so politick and foreknowing as to have done. But I am persuaded that they had it in their general aim, and laid it as a foundation for all their super-structures, to do as much mischief as they could, make the disorder as great, the change as universal as possible, and still to improve all opportunities, and occasions, *ex re natâ*, putting-on for more, as they prevailed in any thing, till at last, even beyond what either they could hope, or we could fear, their design was brought to this perfection, as will appear by the sequel of this discourse.

3. When, in the beginning of this Parliament, in the year 1642, we had made some progress, in a Parliamentary way, to the relieving of many of our grievances, and reforming many abuses both in Church and State (for which we were not sufficiently thankful,) it pleased God, (in his just Judgement, for the punishment of our sins,) to send a spirit of division between the King and the Parliament ; and things grew to that height, that both of them * appealed to the Sword to plead their cause, and decide their quarrel. But the Members of Parliament, who then engaged, declared themselves

* August 16, 1642.

The Views of the

moderate Party in
the Parliament, in
making War against
the King.

themselves, to desire nothing but the settlement of the Kingdom, in the honour and greatness of the King, and in the happiness and safety of the People. And, whensoever that could be obtained, they were resolved to lay-down the Sword, and submit again to the King's Sceptre of Peace, more willingly, than ever they resisted his Force and Power. This, I am sure, was the ultimate end of many,—I may say, of the chiefest—of those who at that time appeared: upon which principle they first moved, and from which they never departed; which made them, at that time, resolve to put their Lives into their hands, and offer them a Sacrifice to the welfare and happiness of their Prince and Country. I say, Prince as well as Country, though he, perhaps, looked on them as his greatest Enemies. But they considered him as their Prince; whom Nature, Duty, the Command of God, and the Laws of Men, obliged them to reverence, and to love as the Head and Father of the People; whose greatness consisted in his People's greatness, and his People's in his; and, therefore, neither could be great, nor happy, one without the other: which made those faithful-ones put them both in the same ballance, and rather adventure his displeasure, by promoting the publick cause, than (as they thought,) his ruin by deserting it.

4. Whilst these men acted in the simplicity of their hearts, there was another generation of men, which, like frozen Snakes that lay in their Bosoms, seemed to desire only the same things with them; and that the same should have contented them. But it was nothing so: for they had further designs,—to destroy, and cut-off not a few; to make the land an *Aceldama*; to ruin the King, and as many of the Nobility and Gentry as they could; alter the Government; and have no order in the Church, nor power in the State, over them. This was the venom they harbour'd; which at first they were not warm enough to put-forth: but it soon appeared by some evident symptoms, which discovered it to discerning eyes, though many were very long abused by them. For, as the Devil can transform himself into an Angel of light; so they pretended zeal in religion, and to be publick spirits; as if none were so holy and self-denying as they; and so they insinuated themselves

The Views of the
violent Party in the
Parliament.

By what Arts they
got into Power.

They pretend to
great zeal in Religion
and an uncommon
degree of Patriotism.

into the good opinion of men ; and, being bold and forward, got into all employments, engrossed the whole managing of the war (that is, the directive part of it, not the fighting) whilst others, who meant plainly and honestly, went into their several countries, desirous to see the business soon at an end ; and, either by shewing the Sword, to have kept it in on both sides, or else, if God had otherwise determined that some blood must be drawn, to adventure their own, for speedy stopping the issue of it in the Kingdom.

5. This was the first step of those unworthy men's getting into power. When other gentlemen, of the House of Commons, unluckily left it, upon these occasions, they then undertook the business, put themselves and their creatures into all Committees,—persons, most of them, who had, before, been only known by their faces, and esteemed for their silence and modesty. But they soon grew bold and impudent; domineering, not only over the rest of the House, but much more over others abroad ; and, by their pride and insolency, contracting Envy and Hatred to the Parliament.

They dispose of all employments amongst their own creatures.

They endeavour to prevent a Peace by proposing unreasonable Terms to the King, and driving him to extremities.
April, 1648.

* May 3, 1648.

6. By this means they had power over all the money of the Kingdom, pleased and recompensed whom they would ; which were none, to be sure, but their creatures, or such as were willing to become so ; and thereby made many proselytes, both within doors and without, increasing their Party exceedingly : which made them carry the business of the House as they would themselves ; and made it easy to them, in all debates concerning applications for Peace, to drive us to extremities, demanding unreasonable things, laying upon the King the Conditions of *Naash*, to thrust-out his right eye for a reproach ; or, as the Devil did to our Saviour, to have him fall-down and worship them, lay his honour at their feet, his life at their mercy ; while they, upon all occasions, revile and reproach him, give countenance and encouragement to all the bitter, scurrilous, and unseemly expressions against him, impeach * the Queen, and give her such usage (both in words and actions) as one would not have done to the meanest handmaid of the Kingdom ; though she was the Wife, the Daughter, and the Sister, of a King, and the Mother of our Prince, who is to sit upon the

the Throne, if these men hinder him not ; and all this, to make the distance wide, the wound deep ; that there might be no closing, no binding-up. Then was there nothing but expelling Members out of the House on the least information. If any of those whelps did but bark against any one, and could but say he was busy in the country, nothing but sequestering, impeaching of treason, turning men and their families, turning wife and children, out of doors to starve : so many Committees and Sub-Committees of examinations, sequestrations, fifth and twentieth part, &c. made in city and country, and some of the most factious, busy, beggarly, men put-in, as the fittest tools for such masters to work by, to rake men to the bones, and take all advantages to ruin them.

They treat all persons with extreme fierceness and severity.

7. This was a great breaking of heart to all honest men, especially to those in the House, who, being present and eye-witnesses of the management of affairs, easily discovered the drift of these persons, and opposed it all they could : which made those blood-suckers conceive a mortal hatred against them, and, in truth, against all Gentlemen, as those who had too great an interest, and too large a stake of their own, in the Kingdom, to engage with them in their design of perpetuating the War to an absolute confusion.

They conceive a violent hatred against all the gentry.

8. This made them look with a jealous Eye upon my Lord of Essex, who was General of the Army ; finding him not fit for their turn, as too desirous of Peace, and of maintaining Monarchy. And therefore they resolve to lay him aside, beginning to draw supplies from him, neither providing recruits, nor furnishing him with money or arms (except sometimes for a pinch, when the necessity of their own preservation required it) and clogging him all they could, and countenancing and supporting those, whoever they were, that did oppose him : In the mean time carrying-on the business of the House in a wild madness, making ordinances, like *Draco's Laws*, written in blood, so that no man could be safe whom they had a mind to destroy ; and their mind was to destroy all they could, by making so many persons desperate, to render things more irreconcile-

And are jealous of the Earl of Essex.

And therefore neglect to supply him with men and money.

N. B. In this year 1643, were the proceedings against Mr. Waller, Tomkins and Chaloner, the two Hothams, & Colonel Fiennes ; though all of them seem to have deserved the treatment they met-with.

able and cut-off all hopes of Peace; which they were resolved to put-by upon any terms, *per fas aut nefas*, and, if they could not succeed by art and cunning, rather to use force than fail, and, where the Fox's skin would not reach, to take the Lion's; in proof of which, to give one instance for all, I will mention the following transaction.

The House of Lords is inclined to Peace in the Summer 1643, and prepare a message to the King for that purpose, which they send to the House of Commons. The violent party in the House of Commons prevent its passing there, by employing a seditious rabble to over-awe the members.

9. The House of Lords in the Summer, after the beginning of our troubles in 1643, having resolved to deliver themselves and the Kingdom from this *Ægyptian* slavery, had prepared a message to the King, with overtures for an accommodation, and sent it down to the House of Commons on a Saturday; where the major part seemed to be of the same mind, and, after a long dispute and much opposition, prevailed to take it into consideration, made an entrance into it, agreed to some particulars, and (it growing late,) adjourned the further debate till Monday morning: against which time these Firebrands had set the City in a Flame, as if there were a resolution to betray all to the King; and thereupon they brought down a rabble of their party, some thousands, to the House of Commons door, who gave-out threatening speeches, and named among themselves (but so as they might be hear'd) some Members of the House, whom, they said, they looked-upon as enemies, and would pull out of the House; which did so terrify many honest, timorous, men, and gave such boldness to the others, that, contrary to all order, they resumed the question that was settled on Saturday for going-on with the business, and at last carried it by some voices to have it laid-aside: which was the highest strain of insolency, the greatest violation of the authority and freedom (the two essential ingredients) of a Parliament, that before that time was ever known. Since, I confess, the army has far outstripped it.

The moderate party propose to call-in the Scots.

10. This made some persons cast-about how a stop might be given to such violent proceedings, and to have other counsels admitted, which probably would give some allay to those sharp and implacable Spirits: It appearing to be altogether impossible ever to obtain a Peace, whilst they were rulers, who, *Phæton-like*, were able to set the whole world on fire. It was therefore proposed that our brethren of Scotland might be called-in, who were known to be a wise people, lovers of order, firm

firm to the Monarchy : who had twice before gone through the misfortune of taking up arms, and wisely had laid them down ; still contenting themselves with that which was necessary for their security, and avoiding extremities. Their wisdom and moderation, as was presumed, might then have delivered us from that precipice of misery and confusion, into which our charioteers were hurrying us amain.

11. But these men would none of it at that time. They hoped to be able to carry-on the work by themselves, and meant to divide all the spoil : which they would have done, if it had not pleased God to give them that check in the West, when their Army there was beaten through Sir *Arthur Haslerig's* default, one of their invincible Champions. First, by his ignorant fool-hardiness ; and afterwards, by his baseness and cowardice; who then found himself to be mortal : for, before, he thought himself invincible, and absolutely stick-free and shot-free, having had the good fortune to be in a gallant regiment, under Sir *William Balfour*, at Kenton-Field, and so not to run-away, but, (as himself did afterwards relate it,) to wink and strike, and bear-down all before him. This made him so absolute a soldier, that he thought Christendom had not his fellow ; and therefore he would not be governed by his Commander in chief, in that Western Brigade, (a gallant and discreet gentleman;) but would charge contrary to order, without sense or reason : and, finding that resistance which he did not expect, ran-away as basely with all the horse, leaving the foot engaged. Presently afterwards the town of Bristol was lost by the like gallantry and good soldiery of another of their champions, who for it was condemned to die by a Council of War, but pardoned by my Lord *Essex*; who was well requited for it afterwards both by this gentleman and his father.

12. Then our Masters, finding themselves to be mortal too, began to be afraid ; and now the Scots must be called-in. So, in all haste, they send to them to come and help, with open cry, *save us, or we perish.* They promise any thing, offer any thing, do any thing, for the present, that the Scots would have them do : The honour of England is not thought-of ; liberty of conscience, and the

But the violent party prevent it.

The defeat of Sir William Waller, at Roundway-down.
June, 1643.

Sir Arthur Haslerig's misconduct is the cause of that defeat.

Col. Nathaniel Fiennes.

The Scots are called in.

The Covenant between England and Scotland was taken by both Houses of Parliament, September, 25, 1643.

godly party, are not mentioned : But all that was hear'd, was the *Covenant, Uniformity in Church-Government, uniting the two Nations, never to make peace without them*; and a solemn treaty for all this closed there, and presently ratified by the Parliament here.

13. But they meant afterwards to be even with them, to perform nothing of what was *de futuro* to be done, to serve their turns by them, to make them instrumental for their deliverance at that plunge, and then pick quarrels with them, and send them home again with scorn and discontent; which they have since sufficiently laboured to do, and went far towards it, and to the engaging of the two Kingdoms in blood ; if some persons had not interposed with more ingenuous and more moderate counsels, to the happy success of whose endeavours, the piety, honesty, and moderation of the Scots themselves did very much contribute, concurring with them, and co-operating in all things which might promote a Peace, as shall be afterwards shewed in its due place : for this is but by the way.

14. Those creatures of theirs whom they sent Commissioners into Scotland for that business, represented the state of affairs to that Parliament as being directly contrary to what it was, endearing their own party to them as the only sincere, publick-spirited Men, who desired such a reformation as was agreeable to their Government, and such a Peace as might be a joint safety and security to both Kingdoms, giving characters of all others as malignants, ill-affected, averse to the Scottish Nation, opposers of a good understanding between the Kingdoms, and of their mutual assistance of each other.

The Scots enter
England, in January
1643-4.

15. With which prejudice of us the Scots were strongly possessed, at their coming-in about January, 1643, and were in England some time before they were disabused. They were, first, made to believe that nothing should be done without them, or their advice and consent. To that purpose a Committee of the two Kingdoms must be appointed for uniting the Counsels, to order and direct the prosecution of the war, and for communicating and transacting all affairs between the Kingdoms : In packing whereof, and keeping-out some persons whom our Masters did disaffect, they used such juggling, as never was hear'd

hear'd-of before in Parliament, and as none but such *Hocus-pocuses* could have the Face to have used.

16. Well, they carried it, and to work they go, bearing it very fair to the Scots, till they were got aloft again, and, with their help, they had recovered and cleared the North, and obtained that great Victory at *Marston-Moor*, in July 1644, which without them they would never have done. And, however Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* had the impudence and boldness to assume much of the honour of that victory to himself, or rather, *Herod*-like, to suffer others to magnify him and adore him for it (for I can scarce believe that he should be so impudent as to give it out himself, so conscious as he must be of his own base cowardliness) those who did the principal service that day were Major-General *Lesley*, who commanded the Scots Horse, Major-General *Crawford*, who was Major-General to the Earl of Manchester's Brigade, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who, under his Father, commanded the Northern Brigade. But my friend *Cromwell* had neither part nor lot in the business : For I have several times heard it from *Crawford's* own mouth (and I think I shall not be mistaken, if I say that *Cromwell* himself has heard it from him ; for he once said it aloud in *Westminster-Hall*, when *Cromwell* passed by him, with a design he might hear him) that, when the whole Army at *Marston-Moor* was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it was running, he saw the Body of Horse of that Brigade standing-still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came-up to them in great passion, reviling them with the name of Poltroons and Cowards, and asked them if they would stand-still and see the day lost ? Whereupon *Cromwell* shewed himself, and, in a pitiful voice, said, Major-General, what shall I do ? he (begging pardon for what he had said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance, as to his Superior Officer) told him, "Sir, if you charge not, all is lost;" *Cromwell* answered, "that he was wounded, and was not able to charge" (his great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going-off, behind him, of one of his Soldiers pistols), then *Crawford*

The Battle of Marston Moor, in July, 1644.

The three principal commanders, who obtained that victory.

Cromwell's cowardice.

desired him to go off the field, and sending one away with him (who very readily followed wholesome advice) led them on himself; which was not the duty of his place, and as little for *Cromwell's* honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his Party's pernicious designs. This I have but by relation: yet I easily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour, that was not ashamed nor afraid to publish it in all places. Besides, I have heard a parallel Story of his valour from another person (Colonel *Dalbier*,) not inferior, either in quality or reputation, to Major-General *Crawford*, who told me, that, when *Basing-House* was stormed, *Cromwell*, instead of leading-on his Men, stood at a great distance off, out of gun-shot, behind a hedge. And something I can deliver of him upon my own knowledge, which makes passage for the easier belief of both these relations, and assures me that that Man is as errant a Coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was his base keeping out of the Field at *Keinton* Battle; where he, with his troop of horse, came not in; impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the Army and place of fight, though his Quarters were but at a Village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, though the ordnance was heard, (as I have been credibly informed,) 20 or 30 miles off; so that certainly he is far from being the Man he is taken-for.

17. That day's work at *Marston-Moor* turned the scales, and raised again the fortune of the Parliament, which till that day had very much declined: And these Men (who all this while stalked under the sides of the Parliament, and did but pretend the business of Reformation, and the People's Liberties; thereby to break the power of the King first, that afterwards they might, either by artifice or force, lay as low the Authority of Parliament, unless it would betray its trust, and yield to be instrumental to them) did, after this, begin to put-out their horns, appear in their colours, and, as they warmed more and more, to spit-out their venom against Monarchy, against

After the victory of
Marston-Moor, the
violent party discover
their designs more
openly.

against Nobility and Gentry, against that Reformation with which they had formerly held-forth to the Scots, against the very Covenant, their Vows and Declarations, wherewith they had abused God and the World.

18. Then did *Cromwell* declare himself to the Lord of Manchester, and indeed revealed the whole design. First, his rancour against the Scots, as that he would as soon draw his sword against them as against any of the King's party. Then his hatred of the Nobility and House of Peers, wishing there was never a Lord in England, and saying, he loved such and such persons because they loved not Lords, and that it would not be well till he was but plain Mr. *Montague*. Thirdly, his intentions to hinder Peace, and that therefore he desired none to be of that Army, but such as were of the Independent judgement, to interpose, if a Peace were like to be made which agreed not with their humours. All this remains upon record in both Houses, being the Earl of Manchester's charge against him. And let any one judge if this be not the very Plot which was then laid, and since practised. Has not every particular been attempted by them? have they not fully compleated that which was chiefly aimed-at? As that which will, and must certainly (if not prevented) bring-on all the rest, the hindering of Peace, that no ease nor quietness might be restored to the Kingdom. For, when the Parliament was ready to disband the only Army then left, and so to free the subject from all payments and taxes, that every one might return to his vocation, and all differences between King and Parliament might be ended and reconciled in a parliamentary way; then did the Cadmean Brood turn their swords against their fellow-subjects, and their Masters the Parliament, which by open force they assault, and compel them to make void and to unvote what they had voted concerning their disbanding, and to put-by all thoughts of peace, and throw-back the Kingdom, (which was entering into the desired Haven of Peace and Happiness,) into the deep Seas of Storms and Misery and Confusion, where I beseech God it perish not! But of all this anon.

19. Things were not yet ripe; tho' the Serpent's Eggs were

Cromwell's declarations to Lord Manchester.

His aversion to the House of Lords.

In May, 1646.

The Earl of Manchester's charge against Cromwell, is dropped by means of his interest with the violent party.

The Scots find themselves slighted by the violent party, and perceive that they have been imposed upon by them.

And therefore join closely with the moderate party.

were laid by him in the Earl of Manchester's bosom, it was not time to hatch the Cockatrice. Therefore, when it was by the Earl made known to the Houses, their party in the House of Commons did (*more solito*) with all the violence and injustice in the world, smother and suppress it, complaining that the Lords had infringed their privileges, in desiring that it might be examined by a Committee of both Houses, saying, The Lords ought not to meddle in it, because it concerned a Commoner; whereas nothing was more ordinary throughout the whole proceeding of this Parliament in all their inquisitions. Yet by that means this was then stifled, the breach of privilege was referred to a Committee of the House of Commons, and there the business died.

20. After this the Scots saw how they were cheated, and it came to be, though not an open breach, yet a great coldness between them, a withdrawing of confidence, of familiarity, of counsels. And the Scots then found that the other party had been misrepresented, being the men who, in truth, did agree with them in principles and in design: Which was only to reform, not to alter; to regulate, and so to save; not to destroy. That they still carried about with them the sense of their Allegiance and duty to the person of the King, whom they did desire to see re-instated in his Throne and Kingly Government, with such a power and in such a way, as might be good both to him and the people; that thereby confusion, misery, and that disorder which the Poet describes to have been in the first Chaos, and which we now see (not in a fiction, but really feel and smart under) might be avoided.

21. By little and little the Scots and these latter came to a better understanding; at last they discovered the horrid practices and the whole design of the others, who, in the mean time, drove it on, *Jehu-like*, violently bearing-down, and destroying all that opposed them; for some opposition they found. They saw there was a strong party in the House against them, between whom and the soldiers who had been under the command of my Lord Essex, there was a good correspondence; and these two, together with the Scots, were as a threefold cord, not to be broken.

broken by them : therefore they resolved to untwist it, and so destroy them one after another.

22. The Earl of *Essex* must be attacked the first ; who, they found, would not bow, and therefore must be made to break. For many applications had been made to him, to see if he would stoop to their Lure ; great offers, large promises, all the glory of the Kingdom should be his, if he would but worship them, or be (as they termed it) true to the Godly Party : but he was true to his principles. Therefore they do what they can to make him odious ; neglecting to pay his Army, to make it a burden to the country, and infamous ; and depriving him of the means of acting by withholding his supplies and provisions, so to cause him to be looked-upon as a drone, or worse ; or putting him upon such actions as should break him, so to make him come-off with dis-honour.

23. As, when he was about Oxford, in the Summer 1644, he on one side of the River, and Sir William Waller with his Brigade on the other ; the King, having then but a small force within the town, and either not provided for a Siege, or not willing to be shut-in with a light body of horse, and, I think, some mounted men, held them play and distracted them, being sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other : which was easy for him to do, going through the town, as he saw occasion, by the conveniency of the Gates : It being then known that he waited but his opportunity and advantage to slip-by, or break-through, our Grand Masters ordered my Lord of *Essex*, with a heavy body of an Army and a great train of Artillery, to attend his Majesty's motion, and Sir *William Waller* to go into the West, which they conceived would be an easy task at that time to reduce the King's Party, brought low, and so not able to send any forces into those parts for their relief and encouragement.

24. This, they knew, would absolutely break my Lord of *Essex*, who must harrass his Army to follow a light and moving Body ; and, if the King, (which was probable enough,) should chance to give him the slip, and get from him into the West, then was he ruined in his reputation, and liable to a question, and, perhaps, to a further prosecution.

The violent party
endeavour to ruin
the Earl of Essex.

The orders given to
him in the Summer
1644, are calculated
to that purpose.

It

A justification of It happened that his Majesty did get by them, and passed Essex's conduct in his march to the West, in the Summer 1644.

by Sir *William Waller*'s quarters on the other side ; who, as soon as he knew it, marched after him, and gave notice to my Lord of *Essex* thereof ; so as before he knew anything, Sir *William Waller* was got a day's march before after the King. Then was it impossible for him to overtake them ; and, being so much nearer the West, Sir *William Waller* engaged in the other Service, he, upon the advice of his Council of War, resolved to bend that way, yet not to make such speed, but that, if he should receive other orders from our Gouvernours above, he might comply with them. Accordingly he gave that Account to the Parliament and Committee of the two Kingdoms, with his desire of their Directions. They were so mad to see themselves defeated of their Plot, that they would not, for many days, return him any answer at all ; his disobedience was blown-up, and trumpeted-about by them and their Agents : Some of whom did not stick to say, “ It were better that my Lord of *Essex* and his whole Army were lost and ruined, than that the Parliament should not be obeyed ; and that, by their consents, neither he nor his Army should be looked-after, or cared-for, more : ” A Maxim they have forgotten now in the case of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Army's,—not disobedience,—but open rebellion. But they were as good as their words then, and did, most maliciously, wilfully, and treacherously (as to the Parliament's cause, which they seemed to be zealous in) suffer General and Army to be lost, and the whole West left further out of the Parliament's reach than it was before.

Haslerig's declared malice against him.

The violent party are the cause of his mis-carriage in the West.

25. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* posted-up to *London*, breathing-out nothing but ruin and destruction to the Earl of *Essex*, and spoke it out in the hearing of several persons, “ That he would ruin him, or be ruined himself.” His malice and violence was so great at the Committee of the two Kingdoms, (where he and his party were prevalent,) that a report was thence brought-down to the House of Commons, by which Sir *William Waller* was taken-off from following the King, and by that means the King was left at liberty to bend his whole force for the West after my Lord of *Essex* ; which he presently did. At last they left my Lord of *Essex* at liberty to proceed in that Western Expedition,

Expedition, but with a resolution to let him perish. He takes-in *Weymouth*, and some other towns, goes-on as far as *Cornwall*, whither the King's forces follow him at the heels, cut-off all provisions from him, press upon him exceedingly, and put him to very great straits. He engaged in a country, enclosed with deep ditches and strong fences, that he could neither break through, nor march away; but sends letter upon letter, messenger upon messenger, to the Parliament, representing his condition, and how easy it was (with a small force, sent upon the back of the King's army, if but only a good party of horse,) to stop their provisions, and turn the tables, straighten them, and free him; than which certainly nothing had been more easy, and would have saved the Kingdom a mass of treasure, and thousands of good men's lives, which the continuance of the war after that time did cost.

26. But our Masters did not desire then to see the war at an end; they had not the sword in those hands in which they wished to have it for to break the King's forces; well knowing that they must then have had a Peace, and such a Peace as would have carried with it an establishment of the King's government, and a keeping-up the Nobility and Gentry; all things must have returned into their proper channel, and (the security of the Parliament and Kingdom being provided-for) the Law of the Land must have taken place, their arbitrary empire have been at an end, and their design wholly defeated.

27. Therefore, my Lord of *Essex* must not be relieved, but sacrificed to their ambition; the King's army must be yet preserved, to give them a colour to new-model theirs, and put the power into the base hands of their creatures, which should keep the Kingdom in a perpetual bondage. And, though they ended the war with the King, yet they never made Peace, but continued to grind the faces, and break the backs, of the people with taxes and free-quarter, to maintain an army, when no enemy was left; in a word, they govern by the sword, the height of all misery and slavery that any land can undergo.

28. My Lord of *Essex* and his army were, by this means, broken in *Cornwall*, in the latter end of that Summer, and the King seemed to gain a great advantage, and recover

recover a great deal of strength. But, to nip that, they soon provided force sufficient ; it suiting with their ends, that his Majesty should seem strong, but not be so. Therefore, the soldiers of that army, which had lost their arms in *Cornwall*, are presently armed again, and two other armies joined to them, the Earl of *Manchester's* and Sir *W. Waller's*, who gave the King's forces a ruffle at *Dennington*, gaining some of the works. Yet, when the King came with the remainder of his strength, they did not think it convenient to put it to the trial of a day, but suffered him to march-away, when it had been a most easy thing to have prevented it : and, even there, in all likelihood, to have made an end of the business : which was that they feared. And Sir *Arthur Haslerig* could come-up to *London*, and into the House of Commons, all in beaten buff, cross-girt with sword and pistols, as if he had been killing his thousands ; when, it is more probable, if there was any danger, that he had been crying under a hedge, as he did at *Cherrington Fight*, bellowing-out, *Ah, woe is me, all is lost ! we are all undone !* insomuch, that a great officer, a Scotchman, finding him in that tune, wished him to go off the field, and not stand gudding there (a Scotch term for crying) to dishearten the soldiers. But, in the House of Commons, he feared nothing ; none so fierce and valiant, without fear or wit ; and there, like a great soldier, in that habit, he gave a relation of what had passed, highly extolling the gallantry and conduct of all the Commanders, and the valour of the Soldiers ; saying, that no mortal men could do more,—that the best soldiers in the world could not have hindered the King's marching-off ; and that it had been no wisdom to have adventured to fight ; for that the King would be King still, and would soon have had another army, though they had gotten the better ; but, if he had beaten them, they had been utterly lost. This served the turn for that time, to cast a mist before the people's eyes, and stop their mouths. Yet, within very few weeks after, this worthy Knight forgot all he had said : for it is, by *Cromwell*, laid as a crime to the Earl of *Manchester's* charge (whom they then meant to lay-aside) that he was the cause they fought not with the King, and Sir *Arthur* is a principal witness

The violent party omit an opportunity of subduing the King's army, and putting an end to the war, soon after the second battle of Newbury.

to

to make it good. But, on the other side, the Earl of *Manchester* returns the Bill, charging *Cromwell*, that it was his not obeying orders, who being commanded, as Lieutenant-general of the horse, to be ready at such a place, at such an hour, early in the morning, came not till the afternoon, and, by many particulars, makes it clear to have been only his fault.

29. And, to say the truth, they could not else have carried-on their design of new-modelling their army, (of which then there had been no need,) and preventing a Peace, which they feared might else have followed. For, if the King had been too sore pressed at that time, it was, in their apprehensions, probable that he might have laid hold upon the Propositions for Peace; which were then ready, and were sent to him to *Oxford* immediately after.

30. Therefore, now they set upon their great work, projected long before, and which *Cromwell* had broken to my Lord of *Manchester*, in the time of his greatness with him, when he thought him to be one of their own. That was to have an army composed of those of the Independent Judgement, to interpose, if there were likely to be a Peace. Only their presumption and impudence was swelled to be so much higher, that now, they would have no other army but of them. Because they saw the danger was over; there being no enemy to take the field against them, but such an one as they had willingly set-up, and given time and means to get-together: so that there would be no great need of fighting, that part having been acted by others. For they were never good at it, but excellent to assume the praise, and reap the benefit, when others had done the work.

31. Therefore, the whole force of the Kingdom must be theirs, in the hands of their Creatures; all the Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had engaged in the beginning, and born the heat of the day, must be laid-by;—all those gallant officers, who had done the Parliament the best service;—indeed all, must be cashiered: the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, and the rest, must be reduced, and cast-by as old Almanacks; who, in truth, were not fitted to their meridian.

The violent party project the new-modelling the army.

32. For

The Self-denying
Ordinance.

32. For thisfeat, the juggle of a self-denying Ordinance is found-out; whereby it is ordained, that no Member of either House shall bear any Office, Martial, or Civil; which strikes them all out of employment, and Cromwell too; but, for him, they will soon find a starting-hole.

33. Then, there must be one body of an army composed of so many thousand horse and foot out of the several armies; which were to be reduced (as I remember) to some twenty, or twenty-one, thousand men: which number they have since doubled or trebled, for the ease of the Kingdom. The officers were to be named by the House, and a Committee appointed, under the specious name, of a *Committee of Reformation*, for this Work, by which they tear in sunder all their forces; discontent all their best officers and soldiers; utterly disjoint the whole frame of the martial part of their affairs, and, I dare say, put the King's party in greater hopes of being able to make it good by the Sword, and less to apprehend the consequence of not making a Peace at that time, than the gaining of a battle would have done: nor, in truth, could it have any other operation with rational men.

34. So to work they go, and find difficulties enough. The soldiers bore an affection to their old officers, which made them unwilling to be reduced: money there was not to give any reasonable satisfaction out of their arrears, to those who were to be cashiered: but a fortnight's pay was ordered, where many months were owing. Yet, such was the obedience of those officers (gallant men, old soldiers most of them) to the authority of Parliament (so unlike to the late rebellious carriage and insolency of our new-model, as shall be hereafter shewed) that they submit to it, are content to sit-down themselves, and (which is more) use their interest to persuade the soldiers to a conformity. Some of the horse, who had served under my Lord of Essex, were a little stiff, and made some shew of standing-out in Hertfordshire; which our violent, bloody, new-modellers would have made advantage of presently, to have fallen on them, and put them to the sword. But the Parliament followed more moderate counsels, endeavouring to gain them through fair means, by sending down

down some of their old officers to dispose them to a submission, which employment they declined not, but went and prevailed; to which my Lord of Essex himself contributed very much;—an example that this present young General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, would not follow, when his army was to be disbanded.

The moderation of
the Earl of Essex.

35. Yet such was the wickedness and desperate madness of those men, who thirsted after nothing but blood, mischief, and confusion, that at the very same time when the Parliament was going a gentle way, Mr. St. John, the King's Sollicitor (one, who, I think, has as much of the blood of this Kingdom to answer for, and has dipped as deep, in all cunning, pernicious, Counsels, as any one man alive) wrote a letter under-hand, to the Committee of *Hertfordshire* (which is yet extant), that they should raise the country, and fall upon these men, to put all into blood, contrary to the desire and endeavour of the Parliament. A villainy never to be forgotten, nor forgiven, in any man, much less in a Man of Law, who should better know what price the Law sets upon the Life of every Subject, much more of many together, and of a whole county, which, if he had been obeyed, had run a great hazard.

An instance of the
cruelty of Oliver St.
John.

36. But I wonder not at this, or any other such passage, from him, who could have the face to say in his argument against my Lord of Strafford, “ That some persons were not to have Law given them, but to be knocked on the head, no matter how;” though he knows it, or should know it, to be against the Laws both of God and Man, “ that any should be put to death before a legal conviction,” however he may have practised the contrary since the beginning of these unhappy troubles: his composition being, it seems, like that monster Emperor's, *Lutum Sanguine maceratum*. And to less than an Emperor I would not parallel him, whose vast thoughts have carried him above King and Parliament, to frame, new-mould, alter, and destroy, as he thinks good. This mixture, in his nature, makes his acting so fierce and cruel. I appeal to all who have seen and observed him this whole Parliament, if, on all occasions, his opinion did not always conclude *in severiorem partem*; if he ever stopped, where there was any way to it, before he came to blood, or to the destruction of estate and fortune: but let him pass.

Sir Thomas Fairfax
made Commander
in Chief. Feb. 19,
1644-5.

37. To return to our business : those soldiers were, by these means persuaded, and the new army framed, Colonels and other new officers appointed, and for a Commander in Chief, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* is found-out ; one, as Sir *Arthur Haslerig* said, as if he had been hewed out of the block for them, fit for their turns, to do whatever they will have him, without considering, or being able to judge, whether honourable or honest. In the passing his Commission they made the first plain discovery of their intentions concerning the person of the King : for, with a great deal of violence and earnestness, they pressed it, and carried it, that the words concerning *the care of the preservation of his person* should be left-out, and that this army should go-out in the name of *the Parliament alone*, and not of the King and Parliament ; as it was before under my Lord of *Essex*, who otherwise would not have meddled with it. But this General made no bones, took it, and hanked them, resolved (as it seems) to do whatsoever those, his Masters, should bid him : for, I am sure, he has, at their command, led his army since against the Parliament, which he seemed to adore above all things upon earth.

By what artifices
Cromwell continued
in the army.

38. The next work was, how again to get-in my friend *Cromwell*. For he was to have the power, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* only the name, of General ; he to be the figure, the other the cypher. This was so gross and diametrically against the letter of the Self-denying Ordinance, that it put them to some trouble how to bring it about. For this, *Cromwell's* soldiers, forsooth, must mutiny, and say they will have their *Cromwell*, or they will not stir. Hereupon he must be sent-down ; no word then of cutting, or hewing, or of forcing them to a submission, as in the case of the Earl of *Essex's* soldiers ; but they must have their wills. Yet for these very men had *Cromwell* undertaken before, when, upon debate, (the inconveniency being objected, which might follow by discontenting the common soldiers, who would hardly be drawn to leave their old officers, and go under new;) he could say, " that his soldiers had learned to obey the Parliament; to go, or stay; fight, or lay-by the sword; upon their command;" which declaration, I know, prevailed with a great many Members, to give their vote for that Ordinance.

39. By

39. By this trick a little beginning was made towards the breach of this Ordinance; which was soon made greater. For they caused a report to be spread, That the King was bending with his forces towards the Isle of *Ely*: but none, it was said, could save us but *Cromwell*; who must, therefore, be sent in all haste for that service; and an order of dispensation is accordingly made for a very few months, two or three (I remember not well, whether) but with such protestations of that party, that this was only for that exigency, and that, for the world, they would not have the Ordinance impeached, as Mr. Sollicitor said; and that, if no body would move for the calling him home, at the expiration of that time, he would. But all this was to gull the House. Mr. Sollicitor had forgot his protestation; and, before that time was out, there is another order for more months; and so the orders were renewed from time to time, that at last this great commander is rivetted in the army, and so fast rivetted, that, after all his Orders of continuance were at an end, he would keep his command still; which he has done for several months, and does yet, notwithstanding that Ordinance, without any Order at all of the House for it.

40. There, now they have the sword where they would have it; and they resolve, with it, to cut all knots they cannot untie. Yet they desired to keep that resolution behind the curtain as long as they could, and would be thought very obedient to the Parliament, hoping they should be always able to have things carried there according to their mind; and, partly by the awe of their power, partly by hopes of reward and advantage, still to have the major vote: Which was easy for them, as they had both sword and purse, and withal an impudence and boldness to reward all those who would sell their consciences. For all such Members of the House, and others, were sure to be preferred, have large gifts given them out of the Commonwealth's money, arrears paid, offices conferred upon them, and to be countenanced and protected against all complaints and prosecutions, though they should have done never so unworthy, unjust, horrid, actions, to the oppression of the Subject, and dis honour of the Parliament. All others were disconcerted, opposed, had inquisitions set upon them, were questioned, and imprisoned upon the least occasion, upon pretences, or

The violent Party
bestow all places and
emoluments upon
their friends, and
oppress all others by
all kinds of artifice.

colours of crimes, many times for doing real good service ; and no favour nor justice for them : only that the world might see which was the way to rise, and which, to be sure to meet with contrary winds and storms, and so to make all men, at least, to hold candles to these visible Saints,

41. But a party in the House still troubled them, which saw their jugglings, their under-hand dealings, suspected their designs, found what they drove-at, and counter-mined them, opposed them, sometimes crost and defeated their practices, always vexed them, and did, in a great measure, divert and keep-off evil, though the stream was so strong that they could not attain and effect the good they desired.

42. This knot must be broken, and some of the persons removed, who are represented to the Kingdom, by these men and their agents, as those who were rotten at heart, not faithful to the Parliament, holding correspondence and intelligence with the King. This was upon Generals, only to prepare mens' minds to make passage for an approbation of any attempts to their prejudice, and give credit to such lies and false accusations as they should be able to set on foot : and all means are used to procure witnesses to testify any thing against them. Prisoners are examined and encouraged to say something ; any scandalous, desperate, rogues are received and hearkened-to ; spies are set to watch them, their goings-out and comings-in ; what places they went to, what persons they visited, or who visited them. Some of their agents confessed they have been two years together watching about some of our houses : yet it pleased God to protect the innocent ; and, notwithstanding all these endeavours, it was never in their power to do any great mischief in this base, unworthy, way.

43. They came nearest to their mark, when they had gotten the Lord *Savil*, (a known, infamous, impostor,) to accuse me of keeping a correspondence with my Lord *Digby* (of which, he said, he had notice given him by a letter in cypher from the Dutchess of *Buckingham*,) and for what I did and said at *Oxford*, when I was, amongst others, sent thither to present Propositions to the King, where they had a fit instrument to act for them, and say and swear any thing they would have him, who was at that very time employed by some of their principal ones,

Particularly by false accusations.

July 16, 1645.

to

to truck and drive a Treaty, underhand, with some great persons at *Oxford*. For the chief among them had always the grace to try more ways than one to the wood, and commonly not to row the way they looked, willing enough to have made a good bargain for themselves at Court, and then have left their whelps, their zealots, to have mended themselves as they could, perhaps, not despairing but to have persuaded them it was for their good, and the advancement of their Catholick Cause, so to have quieted them, and some little thing should have been done for their satisfaction. I did, with my own eyes, see letters,—and so did several persons, Members of both Houses, some yet alive, some dead,—written by *Savil* to divers people at *Oxford*, one to *L. D.* some to others, with only one letter for their names, where intelligence was given of the proceedings and intentions of the Parliament and their Army; many Propositions made in the name of that party and their undertakings, and in the close, my Lord *Savil* to be Lord Treasurer, Mr. Sollicitor to be Lord Keeper, and others of their Faction to have several offices of honour and trust. These letters were seen likewise by my Lord *Willoughby* and Mr. *Whitlock*, who are yet alive, and can testify it, and by the Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *Christopher Murray*, who are dead. Some of them were written by *Savil's* own hand; some copied-out by a person of honour, who was employed by him, and is yet alive to make it good: and when they played this game themselves, and pretended, forsooth, a design upon *Oxford*, and to have the King's army, in the West, delivered to them (which was all but collusion and deceit, to abuse the world, and colour their correspondencies,) then did they make *Savil* play the villain and accuse me, whom they prosecuted with that height of malice and violence, with so much injustice and partiality, especially that man-of-law, Mr. Sollicitor, who, though Mr. *Whitlock* had not only consented to, but joined in, and advised all that I had done at *Oxford*, and that *Savil* himself had laid it equally upon us both in his information (it seems either not so wicked as his setters-on, or not fully instructed by them,) yet such was the justice of that man, that he would needs sever our cases, and was not ashamed

The heads of the violent party treated underhand with the King's party for their private advantage.

Lord *Savil's* accusation of Hollis and Whitlock.

N. B. This matter is fully related in *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 148, &c.

not only so to declare his judgement, but pressed it and sollicited it, that the proceedings might be singly against me : whereby the eyes of many indifferent persons, Members of the House, were opened, and their spirits raised to an indignation ; insomuch, that, in spight of the Sollicitor and his party, I was acquitted by the House.

The violent party procure a resolution to fill-up the vacant Seats in the House of Commons. Sept. 1645.

44. This made them bethink themselves, begin to mistrust the House, and doubt if they should be able to carry things as formerly : and, thereupon, resolve on a course, which some amongst them had formerly still opposed or declined, as Mr. Sollicitor, by name ; which was to have the vacant places, of those they had thrust-out, filled-up by new elections, issuing out writs for it under their new Great Seal. This, they hoped, would alter the Constitution of the House and give them infallibly a majority of votes. Accordingly, in the long Summer-vacation of the year 1645, when very many of the Members were gone into their several countries, they fall-upon that point of recruiting the House ; and, notwithstanding the thinness thereof, and its being surprised with that debate, their creatures, most of them, there (as they were always sure of some fifty voices,—persons, whose only employment was there to drudge and carry-on their Masters work, having thereby a greatness far above the sphere they had formerly moved in ; whereas, the others were gentlemen, who had estates which required their looking-after, and all of them had some vocations, either for their particular business or pleasure, which made them less diligent.) and many of the other Members, as at other times, so then, were away ; yet, they carried it but by three voices.

Their artifices to influence the elections.

45. Then to work they go to canvass for Elections, in all places, for the bringing in of such as should be wholly theirs. First, they did all they could to stop Writs from going any whither but where they were sure to have fit men chosen for their turns, and many an unjust thing was done by them in that kind : Sometimes denying writs, sometimes delaying till they had prepared all things, and made it, as they thought, cock-sure : Many times, Committee-men in the country, such as were their creatures, appearing grossly, and bandying to carry Elections for them ; sometimes they did it openly, by the power of the army,

army, causing soldiers to be sent and quartered in the towns where Elections were to be, awing and terrifying, sometimes abusing, and offering violence to the Electors. And, when these undue Elections were complained-of, and questioned at the Committee of Privileges, there appeared such palpable partiality, so much injustice, such delays and tricks to vex parties grieved and their witnesses, such countenancing and defending those who had done the wrong, as it disheartened every-body, and made many even sit-down and give-over prosecution.

46. Notwithstanding all this, and that, by this means, some persons, unduly chosen, were brought-in, yet it appeared in the end, that far the greater part of those new Members deceived the expectation of these men. For, though they came into the House with as much prejudice as was possible against the other moderate party, who had always been represented to them as persons ill-affected, not faithful to the Parliament, obstructing all businesses that were for the good of the Kingdom, having self-ends, and ambitious designs of their own ; yet, when they came to sit in the House themselves, and to see with their own eyes the carriage of things, understand the ways and drift both of the one and the other party, discern the tricks and violent proceedings of the one, and the plainness and reality of the other; that all that these aimed-at was, but to get a good Peace, see the Government settled both in Church and State, and to make no advantages to themselves, to have no share, and to desire none, of the monies, and to look after no offices nor preferments ; in a word, not to seek themselves, but the publick ; and that those on the other side hinder and oppose the settling of the Government, and keep things in a distraction and confusion, not willing to put-up the sword, but to continue the burdens and pressures of the country, countenance the insolence of soldiers, bear them out in their abusing of Ministers, and other honest Men, who were for Church-government, keep-up factions, and drive-on interests in the House, put themselves, their kindred, and friends, into all places of power and profit, share and divide among them the Commonwealth's money, by gifts and rewards, and paying pretended arrears ; in a word, seek the ruin of the Kingdom, and the advancement

Nevertheless, the new
Members, after some
experience of the
behaviour of both
parties, join with the
moderate party.

ment of themselves and their party; this made them change their minds, and many of them to confess and acknowledge they had been abused.

47. But this was not the work of one day: Some time passed before they could make these clear discoveries and disabuse themselves; our grand impostors kept them a good while at gaze, with putting jealousies into their heads against the *Scots*, as if the *Scots* had a design of making good their footing in this Kingdom, and that we, who were of the other party from them, did carry-on the Scotch interest, and designed to betray the Rights and Liberties of *England*; with which engine they battered a long time, and made no small impression on many men's minds.

The violent party
quarrel with the
Scots.

In the decline of the
Parliament's affairs,
the violent party had
intended to give up
the cause, and leave
England.

Their ingratitude to
the Earl of Essex,
and their other great
deliverers.

And to the *Scots*.

48. For the next step they meant to make, was to fall foul with the *Scots*, and engage the Kingdoms one against another in blood; which was the return they would give the *Scots*, as a reward of the good service they had done them, by coming to their help in time of need, when they were so low, so despairing of carrying-on their work, and effecting what they had projected to themselves, as that the chief of them, a little before, were ready to run-away; ships prepared; good store of treasure, (which they had sharked,) packed-up to carry with them, or returned beyond sea, by Bills of Exchange; and all things in a readiness for their remove: so well were they resolved to hazard, and (if need were) sacrifice themselves for their country, though they would be thought to be the only patriots. But they had certainly left it in the lurch, if first, my Lord of *Essex*, had not done that memorable piece of service in relieving *Glocester* (which was so gallantly defended by Major-general *Massey*) and fighting the great battle of *Newbury*. And a little before that the Kingdom of *Scotland*, engaging in the cause, sent-in their army to their assistance. My Lord of *Essex*, as has been shewed already, had his reward; he was cashiered; and so was Major-general *Massey*; who, since, likewise is turned out of the House (being one of the eleven Members,) and voted to be impeached of High Treason. And next the *Scots* must have theirs. The quarrelling with them, and endeavouring

deavouring to destroy their army, is what I must now speak of, as the Subject of the next Act in this Tragedy. The first endeavour is to break the Scottish army, by not paying it; which before, (whilst they had need of it, or hopes, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* might co-operate to the working of their designs,) they could be careful to do their utmost to satisfy, and to provide for it fitting accommodations. But now they can let many months pass without sending them any money, or taking any care for their supply, or so much as affording them good words. One of these two effects they thought this would certainly produce; either to make the soldiers run-away, and, perhaps mutiny, and so the army to disband and fall to pieces; or else to make them live upon free quarters, and so, by oppressing the country, to become odious, and provoke the people to rise against them. Nor were they wanting to give all encouragement so to do; Emissaries were sent out, and Agents employed in all places, to stir up and imbitter men's spirits. Many complaints were, by their procurements, sent-up to the Parliament, and all means used to get hands to those complaints, and strange things were suggested,—vast sums to be levied by them, so many thousand pounds a week to be levied upon a county,—unheard-of insolencies to be committed, robbing, killing, ravishing, riots, all manner of villanies. This would come-up with open cry, make a great noise, be received and heightened in the House of Commons with railing speeches, and bitter invectives, blown over the City and Kingdom, to the disadvantage and reproach, not only of the army, but the nation, in a word, all done that could be imagined, to set man, woman, and child, and even the very stones, against them. The Commissioners of *Scotland* that were in *London*, would many times send in their papers to the Houses of Parliament, to shew the falsehoods of those reports, and desire that Committees might be sent-down to join with theirs to examine these things; pressing that it ought to be so done by the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, and that there should always be a Committee of both Kingdoms with the Scottish army, to govern it, to provide what was fit for the soldiers, and prevent both disorders and misunderstandings:

They neglect to pay
the Scottish army.

And cause false
complaints to be
made against them.

October 16, 1646.

In hopes to incense
the English nation
against them.

but

but this was not that which our Masters desired to see done; and therefore they would send none.

The moderate party
endeavour to prevent
a breach between the
two nations.

49. The Members of the House, who disliked those courses, and saw the endeavours that were used to cause a breach between the two nations, did yet desire, that, if those relations were true, it might so appear, and be represented not only to the General of the Army, and to that part of the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* which was in *England* (both those with the Parliament, and those with the army) but even to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that there might be redress, the offenders punished, and the Kingdom of *England* righted and satisfied. : And, if they were false, that the raisers and contrivers of those Reports might be punished, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* receive proper satisfaction; which was the way to keep Peace between the two Nations. And so, sometimes, they prevailed, and got it ordered for an examination; but never any thing could be made of it. Only, at a market-town in *Yorkshire*, there had been a riot, and some men killed; for which, a Council of War passed on the offenders, and some (as I remember) were executed, some cashiered. And, as to the raising those great sums of money; it is true, that they did raise

The real grounds of
the false reports
raised against the
Scots.

some money, or else their soldiers must have starved. But, for that exorbitancy of raising so many thousand pounds a week upon one county, it was a scandal and false lye, grounded upon a notable cheat and collusion. For the Scots drawing their Quarters near together, (which they did, as well for the better governing of their army, as for the safety of it, knowing they had many back-friends,) this made them lie heavy upon places, and exact the more money and provisions from those several townships. Then did these men, who were employed to blow the coals, and put all into a flame (if possible) between the country and the Scots, take the highest rate that was set upon any one of these towns, and make a computation what it would come-to upon the whole county, at that proportion; and then they declared that sum to be the charge that had been laid upon that county for the payment of the Scottish army. And this must be made a great business, and pass for a truth, as if the *Scots* had raised so much money; when, in truth, there was no such thing.

50. Yet let me not be thought to excuse and justify all that

that the soldiers of that army have done upon the country, and not to pity, with a very tender sense, the deep sufferings of those Northern parts, the Scottish army lying so long upon them on free-quarter. I must be very ignorant of the carriage of an unpaid army, if I did not believe that many disorders were committed, many a poor countryman exceedingly oppressed and abused by the unruly soldiers, and more money and provisions, by half, taken and spoiled by them, than would have sufficed for their pay and entertainment, if it had been orderly raised and provided by the authority and care of the State which was to pay them. And so should I, likewise, have very small bowels towards my country, *England* in general, and particularly, those poor counties, (in one of which I received my being,) if I did not grieve, and mourn from the bottom of my soul, for the sad condition which did then overspread them, the poverty to which they are reduced, the ruin of so many houses and families, the land lying, in many places, an uninhabited wilderness, exhibiting, all over, a face of misery and desolation. But then, the more I am raised to an indignation against those persons who were the cause of all this misery, and who had rather suffer—not one county or two, but—all the counties in *England*, and two Kingdoms besides, to perish and be ruined, than that they should fail of their ends. And so must all the North be made a sacrifice to their malice and revenge upon the Scottish Nation; and, rather than not enforce the *Scots* to oppress those parts, (hoping at last they would fall upon one another,) they will suffer the country to endure any misery; and not only so, but impudently and perfidiously wrest and misinterpret the Treaty which themselves had made with them, and so to put a great scorn thereon, to give greater provocations to the *Scots*: and thus they make themselves ridiculous and infamous to the world, and to all posterity, by a gross and palpable collusion.

51. For, when the Commissioners of *Scotland*, and the General of the Army, did so often and earnestly move for pay for the soldiers, representing, “that on the monthly pay, which was conditioned-for and promised, they have not, for so many months, received anything, and that it was impossible to observe that discipline in the army which was requisite for the ease of the country, because the soldiers were unpaid,” they had the face to say, “that, by the Treaty,

The irregularities of
the Scottish army,
were merely the ef-
fects of want of pay.

The violent party
grossly misrepresent
the Treaty made
with the Scots with
respect to their pay.

the

the *Scots* could not receive their pay at present, because there was a clause, that, if any part thereof were behind, they should be allowed interest for forbearance ;” (which interest was not to be presently paid neither, but afterwards, when the Peace was settled, and the Kingdom more able,) from which clause, these conscientious Logicians infer’d, that, if we allowed them Interest upon the sum due to them, nothing could be demanded by them at present. So that, that clause of indulgence, which the *Scots* gave way to, out of friendliness and confidence, to shew that they would not exact upon our necessities, if at any time, through the great occasions of expence, we were not able to give them their full pay, is now made use of, and ungratefully turned upon them, to deter the payment of any part of it ; and this only to affront them, and make them desperate.

They raise false reports of the government of Scotland, as well as of their Army.

52. And, as they deal with the Army, so did they with the State and Kingdom of *Scotland*, by putting neglects and indignities upon their Ministers, raising jealousies of them, and of the whole Nation. For this they had their *Robert Wright*, and their unknown Knight, to give intelligence of Correspondencies held by them with the Queen,—of undertaking to do great matters for the King,—Treaties with *France*,—strange designs and practices against the Parliament,—and, every foot, Letters of Information from some well-wishers abroad, to Mr. Sollicitor, or Sir *Henry Mildmay*, or some other of that gang, upon this strain. Then this is whispered-about, and these Letters go from hand to hand, and are told as a secret in every body’s ears, to make people afraid and mistrust even their own shadows, as if all were in danger. Sometimes the House must be acquainted with some of these things ; or some person, or other, brought to the Bar, to make some relation, as Sir *Thomas Hanmore*. Then the doors are shut, long-winded speeches are made to set-out our dangers, and great expectations are raised of strange discoveries ; and all turns-out to be but *aparturunt montes*. Yet this serves to make a noise ; and they had instruments abroad to improve it : and many honest, well-meaning, men were cozened, and stood at gaze, knew not what to think of their brethren of *Scotland*, nor yet of the Members of either House, and desired to have things more fairly carried towards them;

and,

and, as they had had experience of their faithfulness formerly, so could they not be brought by such artifices to have an ill opinion of them without better grounds for it; and they therefore differed in the entertainment they gave to those alarms, judging them false and causeless, and accordingly expressing themselves, diverting and breaking the desperate thrusts which these men made; and were therefore decryed as Scottish, malignant, and prejudged in all they did or said.

53. Their malice against the Scots rests not here; it carries them to discover and manifest a slighting and neglecting, and (that not sufficiently provoking) a violent injuring and affronting of them. First, they vouch-safe not to answer the papers they put into the House; some not at all; none presently (as formerly they were wont to do) nor in any convenient time: but they make them wait days, and weeks, and months, for a return to what the Commissioners present from the kingdom of Scotland, or from themselves in the name of that kingdom.

They affront the
Commissioners of
Scotland.

54. The Committee of the two kingdoms is now no more in esteem, than (as they say) a Saint without a Holiday: That which before did manage all the great business,—which was looked-upon with so much reverence, even as a sacred thing,—prayed-for in the Churches, like the Lords in the Council,—had all the trust, all the power, not only in matters of war, (which were wholly left to them by the ordinance of their Constitution;) but all other business of consequence,—as, framing propositions for Peace, and all addresses to his Majesty,—all negotiations with foreign States,—whatsoever did, in any high degree, concern the Parliament or Kingdom, was still referred to them; and what-they did, passed for law, and was seldom, or never, altered in the House. But now the tide was turned; they had nothing to do. Sir Thomas Fairfax was discharged of his subordination to them, and left to himself, to do as he saw cause with his army. They of the Committee, who were of that faction, seldom or never came to it; so that the Commissioners of Scotland, and the other members of it, did come and attend three or four days one after another, sometimes oftener, to no purpose, and no Committee could sit for want of a number: nay, they prevailed so far, as now to vilifie and shew their neglect or jealousie of

They bring the Com-
mittee of both king-
doms into contempt.

And discharge Sir
Thomas Fairfax from
his subordination to
it.

Oct. 17, 1645.

the Scottish Commissioners. They would sometimes get business referred to the Members of both Houses that were of that Committee, with their exclusion.

They intercept and break open the letters of the Scotch Commissioners,
May, 1646.

55. To provoke them yet more, they break through the Law of Nations, which in all places in the world give protection to publick Ministers employed by any Prince or State, so as neither their servants or goods, and especially not their letters, (which are of greater consequence, and more immediately concern the honour and interest both of their masters and them,) ought to be in any sort touched or stopped; yet the packets of the Commissioners of Scotland must be intercepted, and their letters broke-open. This was done several times in a secret and private manner, the letters being suppressed and never hear'd-of more: which was a great wrong and injury to that kingdom; yet cannot be said to be an affront, because it was not avowed. But they have likewise done it openly and avowedly in a most insolent way: Once they set a captain, one Massey, at the guards by London, knowing the Commissioners were sending an express into Scotland; and this captain (who deserves to be made an example for it, and his masters too, who set him to work) stops the gentleman who was sent with the packet, takes the very letters they had written to the Committee of Estates, reads them, and keeps the messenger prisoner upon the guard: which was the highest affront,—the greatest violation of the publick faith,—the greatest scandal to all Princes, States, and even societies of men,—the basest, unworthiest, dealing with a nation, to whom we were engaged by amity, league, covenant, common Interest, and all bonds of gratitude for the good we had received from them,—that ever was heard of, or read in any story, or, I think, ever will be again. Yet was this fellow, by the power and interest of these men, protected in the House of Commons: So far from being punished, when the Scottish Commissioners made their complaint, that, when the Lords had committed him for it, they made the House set him at liberty, and quarrel with the Lords for breaking their privileges, in committing one who was under examination of their Committee: for they had referred the business to a Committee, in truth not to do the kingdom of Scotland any right by punishing

punishing the offender, but to affront it the more by protecting him.

56. One would think now these had bid fair for an absolute breach with *Scotland*: but they are not satisfied yet; one thing more they will do, which, they are confident, will do the feat. It is this; At the coming-in of the *Scots*, they had born them in hand, that they desired nothing but the uniting of the Nations: That therefore they would never make peace without their advice and consent; and that, as they desired a conjunction of Forces and Counsels for prosecution of the war, so, whensoever a Peace was made, they desired a conjunction of Counsels and Interests for the preservation thereof, that so the Kingdoms, interwoven one with another, might be a mutual strength and security one to another. Therefore in framing the propositions for Peace, presented to the King at *Oxford*, and treated-on at *Uxbridge*, (which was done at the Committee of the two Kingdoms,) they make it one proposition, "That some Commissioners from *Scotland* should be joined with ours, in the power of the Militia of this Kingdom, and, in like manner, that some of ours may be joined with theirs in their Kingdom," and so bring it to the House. Where myself, and many more, (who truly desired the joyning of the Nations in love and good understanding, to perpetuity,) opposed it, fearing that joining them in that power, would prove a dividing of affection, which should be best set, and so preserved, by keeping several their several Interests. But those carried it; and what we feared proved true: it being afterward made an occasion of great endeavours to set the two Kingdoms farther asunder: and certainly it was first done by them out of that design.

They put another great affront upon the Scots.

57. For now, when the Propositions were to be sent again to the King to *Newcastle*, that party took their rise upon that proposition, to have them all reviewed, and changed almost all in them that looked towards the *Scots*, and gave themselves liberty, as they had a large Field, to shew the inconveniences of admitting another Kingdom to share power in this. And much was done and said, reflecting upon *Scotland*, and against all such intermixtures. Then those who shewed their dislike of it before, and would not have it done when it was to do, yet, as it was now done,

They had formerly joined the Scots with the English, in the power of the Militia.

And now would deprive them of that privilege. May, 1646.

done, did not desire, at that time, to have it undone ; being, in truth, unwilling that there should be any altering of the Propositions at all ; not knowing where these men would stop, if once they began to change any part : And therefore, offered this consideration, that, though, before, it would have been no wrong, or unkindness, to our brethren not to have admitted them to such a co-partnership, which they apprehended woud prove rather a prejudice than otherwise ; yet, being now admitted into it, they thought it might be ill-taken to thrust them out, and might bethought to be a proof of a jealousy and change of affection towards them, according to the rule, *Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur &c.* But, for that very reason, were these men the more earnest for it,—that it might be ill-taken,—that it might argue a jealousy,—that the *Scots* might see by it, that the countenance of the Parliament was not to them as before,—and that, the ligament being untied, by which the two Kingdoms did seem to be bound-up together, they might fall in sunder, and the breach be the greater. O ! the wickedness of these men, that thirsted after nothing, but to see the two Kingdoms weltering in

The wisdom and moderation of the Scots prevents any ill consequences from those violent counsels.

that blood which they must let-out of one-another's veins ! But that does the more commend the goodness, piety, wisdom, and moderation of our brethren of *Scotland*, which prevented it ; for, notwithstanding all these provocations, all these injuries and affronts, they were steadfast, they were unmoveable in their resolutions to promote the Peace of *England*. They said, they came in to help it ; they will not be made instruments to destroy it : They had bound themselves in a Covenant before God, and in a Treaty with their Brethren of *England*, to endeavour, by all good ways and means, a happy settlement and Reformation both in Church and State : The art and malice of their enemies, and the enemies of Peace, shall not engage them to become in any sort an occasion of hindering it. Therefore, they deny themselves ; they renounce their own interest ; they quit all pretensions, and agree with the Parliament in those alterations, and thereby defeat the expectation of those who hoped to see, not only the Propositions of Peace laid-aside upon that occasion, but that *Scotland* should have born the blame, both of not making Peace with the King, and also of all the

the miseries which must have followed upon both Kingdoms, by a rupture and breach between them.

58. When they saw they could not by art and under-hand-dealing compass this breach; for that neither the *Scots* would be provoked to declare against the Parliament, and so the war begin on that side; nor could they engage the Northern Counties to fall upon them: If either of which events had taken place, they would have still kept themselves behind the curtain, and have hid the arm which had thrown the stone; they would have seemed, alas! innocent, well-meaning, men, and yet the mischief would have befallen which they had contrived. But, rather than fail, they will throw-off the vizard, and come downright with open face, to the executing their design. They set-on their teasers, (as *Haslerig*, *Mildmay*, *Martin*, and many others,) to move, "That Sir Thomas Fairfax might go-down with his army, to protect those Northern Counties, and relieve them from the oppression of the *Scots*;"—a pretty way of protection and giving ease, to send an army into a country! We see how this army eases the country now, to the breaking both of their backs and hearts. But, could they have gotten a vote for this, their work had been done, and we should soon have heard of mischief, and felt it: The animosity between those two Armies would have instantly put them and the Kingdoms into blood: for which, no question, Sir Thomas Fairfax had his instructions. But the House would never give way to it, though with earnestness prest many times by that party. And when they saw they could not prevail, the presumptions are very strong, that they would have had the Army to have marched thither, without the Parliament's order: for the *Scots* had an alarm, of the Army's moving towards them; and their Commissioners so informed the House, with a protestation against it: upon which there was a stop, with a denial and disavowment of their having any such intention. Yet certainly there was an attempt; and, it is said, orders were out for part of the Army to move that way. But, God be thanked! it went no further: for that would have been a sad business.

59. Before I go off this matter, I must do that right to Col. *Pointz*, (who commanded the Northern Forces,) as to attribute to his care and vigilancy, and his discreet ordering

The violent party is desirous of sending down the army to quarrel with the *Scots*, under pretence of protecting the Northern counties:

But the Parliament would not consent to it.

Colonel *Pointz* behaves prudently and honestly in his Northern command.
Nov. 1646.

of his business, a great part of our happiness, that all that mischief was prevented, which was so earnestly endeavoured to be pulled on us, by engaging the Country and Scottish Army in quarrel and bloodshed. And that was his crime with these men; who, to punish him for it, did afterwards so unjustly cause him to be put out of his command, after they had stirred-up the unruly Rabble of the Agitators, to take him by violence, out of his house at York, tho' he was as absolute in his command there, as Fairfax was in his: Merely doing it by an act of power, force, and violence, breaking thro' all Rules of Justice, Equity, and Honesty,—bringing him a prisoner to the Army,—not suffering him so much as to put-on his clothes, or speak to his wife, or any friend,—but using him as if he had been the greatest traitor in the world; though Sir Thomas Fairfax could not pretend to the least jurisdiction over him, nor could anything be laid to his charge. Such is their hatred of every honest man, who stands in their way to the accomplishment of their pernicious designs.

The violent party are in hopes that the Scots will refuse to return home.

* May 19, 1646,
And therefore endeavour to make their return difficult to them.

The Scots had very plausible reasons for staying longer in England, if they had been so inclined.

60. Their next hope was, that the Scottish Army would not go out of the Kingdom at the desire of the Parliament; so bloody noses would be upon that occasion: and I must give them their due, there was no failure in them, to do all that was possible, to have kept them in the Kingdom, still only to quarrel with them, but with a seeming to desire nothing so much as their going. Very forward they were to get the Vote* of the Parliament “that they should be gone;” but yet to enable them to go they would not help, but rather hinder, and hang-on all the weights they could to make it difficult to them to do so. To say the truth, they had some ground to believe, First, That they would not go; and, Secondly, That they could not, if they would: for the Scots had a colour, if not just reason, to have refused.

61. By the Covenant and Treaty, the two Kingdoms had bound themselves before God, and one to another, as one entire body, to prosecute the cause (these are the very words of the Declaration of both Houses, to the State of the United Provinces; which Declaration Mr. Solicitor himself penned, and therefore they must hold it Canonical), and that neither Kingdom should lay-down their arms till the ends mentioned in the Covenant and Treaty were obtained. If then in this cause the forces of both Kingdoms

doms made but one entire body, the *Scots* had a good plea to make, to this effect, “ Why will you send us away and disband us wholly? This proceeding is not equal; the body must suffer, and cannot act as an entire body if one whole member be cut-off; or, if there be no more need of acting, if the ends be obtained, for which the body was constituted, and therefore you send us away, then why do you keep-up your own Army, the other part of this body?” This had certainly been strong reasoning, which Mr. Solicitor would have been puzzled to answer.

62. Besides, the *Scots* had cause enough to have their jealousy prompt them, that it was not safe for them to depart with their Army, lay-by their swords, and leave standing in this Kingdom so great a force, which they knew to be so ill-affected to them, and which might act to their prejudice; and, (the King being then in their power,) might, perhaps, force both him and the Parliament to make a Peace disadvantageous to *Scotland*, and differing from those grounds upon which, by the Kingdom of *England*, the *Scots* had been engaged in this Quarrel: or else they might make no Peace at all, but interpose (as *Cromwell* to the Earl of *Manchester*) to hinder it, and themselves govern the nation by the sword, not only to the prejudice of *Scotland*, but also to the ruin of *England*. One may swear there was ground enough for such a fear; for it hath since proved so to purpose. But, according to the old rule, “they who mean well themselves, are not suspicious of others.” The *Scots* had no thoughts but of settling a Peace, laying-down of arms, calling the People, and all things to revert into their old channel; and, therefore, they were willing to be gone, and return into their own Country, in confidence that, after their departure, the Army under Sir *Thomas Fairfax* would likewise presently be disbanded, since there was no more need of any Army at all; so they were willing to go.

63. But then the question was, if they would go or not, and how the Soldiers would be disposed to march-out, who had not been paid of so many months, insomuch as the Scottish Commissioners gave-in an account of some 800,000*l.* Arrears. Here our gallants hoped they had them upon the hip, and should surely give them a fall. Then they thrust-on some of their little Northern Beagles,

But the *Scots* consent to go home.

The Scottish Commissioners give-in an account of 800,000*l.* arrears.

Aug. 18, 1646.

The violent party set-up a contrary account of very unreasonable articles against the Scots.

And propose that the Scottish army should march-away before the account is adjusted.

The moderate party endeavour to avoid the delays and disputes of an account: and procure a sum in gross to be offered them.

The violent party are for giving only 100,000*l.*

But the Scottish Commissioners insist upon 400,000*l.* of which 200,000*l.* are to be paid down.

(as Mr. *Blaxton*, and others,) to inform the Parliament what high sums of money the Scots had raised upon the Country; upon which they conclude, the Scottish Army was in their debt, and therefore they would come to an account with them: which would have been a sure way to have kept them in the Kingdom five or six months longer. But to help that, our just pay-masters said, the Army should march-away, and some persons be left behind to see all accounts adjusted: which had required very good rhetorick to have made it justice, especially to have appeared so to the Scottish Soldiers. For “to have sent them away without Money, and then to have asked the Countrymen what sums of Money the Soldiers had taken from them, (when the Countrymen might say, what sums they thought good, the Soldier not being there to answer for himself,) and yet for the Soldier to have the quantity of his pay, that was still due to him, to be thereby determined,” would have been but hard measure. But the rhetorick used in support of it, would have been, for Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to have gone-down with his Army; which should have made it just, and easie, and everything: for this was the conclusion they desired to bring it to; as it was often moved and pressed by them.

64. At last, the well-wishers to Peace, with much ado, prevailed in the House, and it was carried to offer the *Scots* a gross sum for all, so to part fair, and avoid the delay and disputes of an account: to which they presently agreed. Then the question was “what sum.” Here again we had a strong debate: For our Incendiaries hung by every twig, sticking fast to their principles to dissatisfy the *Scots*, and break with them (if possible) upon any point; pretending the poverty of the Kingdom, and the great sums the *Scots* had raised, and therefore they would give but 100,000*l.* which they knew was all one with a hundred shillings, as to the satisfying of the Soldiers for marching-away. In the end, after many debates in the House, and passages to and again with the Scotch Commissioners, the lowest sum that could be agreed-unto by the Commissioners was 400,000*l.* of which sum, one half, to wit, 200,000*l.* was to be paid down in hand, and the other 200,000*l.* after sometime; with a protestation of theirs, that the Army would not be satisfied with less, nor enabled to march: which was motive enough for these men to deny it; for, if they could have wrought the dissatisfaction of the Army, so as

to have refused to go, it was the issue they wished to bring it to. Whereupon it was opposed by them with all the power they had; but in the end the better part, that is, the moderate party, (who were the peace-makers, those that laboured to keep things even and fair between the two Kingdoms,) carried it: And the sum was voted, and all things agreed-upon, though with difficulty; (for they fought it out, and lost it by inches); and then the *Scots* declared they would march-out by such a day.

And this is at last carried by the moderate party, though with very great difficulty.

And the *Scots* here-upon resolve to march out of England.

The violent party hope to quarrel with the *Scots* about the person of the King.

65. Yet had our *Boutefeu*s one hope left, which was, to quarrel at last about the person of the King, believing the *Scots* would certainly have taken his Majesty with them into *Scotland*. This, they knew, would have been ground sufficient, and would have engaged all *England* against them, giving a confirmation to all the jealousies formerly raised, and occasioned a thousand more: And would have certainly more advantaged the designs of those who thirsted after the destruction of the King first, the *Scots* next, and then of all such persons as desired Peace within this Kingdom, and would have made them a smoother way to their damnable ends, “the altering of the Government, and bringing-in a confusion both in Church and State,” than any thing that could have happened: And the two Kingdoms would have been engaged against each other in a bloody contest, while the author of the mischief would have remained undiscovered, masked-over with the glorious pretences of zealously vindicating the honesty and interest of *England*, and every breach of Covenant and Treaty in this cause: which made them, with so much peremptoriness and incivility, and, in truth, injustice, demand “that the *Scots* would deliver-up his Majesty,” though they had an equal interest in his Royal Person, with the Kingdom of *England*, (he being equally King of both,) and an equal interest in the closing and binding-up the unhappy differences, which were between him and both his Kingdoms, they having been engaged in that quarrel at the entreaty of *England*, and made-up together, an entire body with *England*, (as is before shewed) for the prosecution of it. Therefore they had no more reason to trust us with the King, than we had to trust them; and as much were they concerned in all that related to his Majesty’s person; so as they had ground enough

The ultimate object of the violent party.

And for that purpose peremptorily demand of them to deliver-up the person of the King.

The Scots consent to it, and leave England. In February, 1646 7.

The moderate behaviour of the Scots gives their friends in England an ascendant over the violent party.

And resolutions are taken in Parliament to disband the army.

enough to have disputed it; and out of that hope, was it pressed by the others. But the wisdom of the Scottish nation foresaw the inconveniences which must have necessarily followed, if they had been positive at that time, and that they would thereby have plaid their enemies game to their own ruin, and even to the ruin of his Majesty. Therefore they made for him the best conditions they could ; that is, for the safety and honour of his person, and (to avoid greater mischiefs,) were necessitated to leave him in *England*, and so march-away. Which they did in February 1646-7.

66. Here, then, the very mouth of iniquity was stopped ; Malice itself had nothing to say, to give the least blemish to the faithfulness and reality of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the clearness of their proceedings, their zeal for Peace, without self-seeking and self-ends, or any endeavours to make advantage of the miseries and misfortunes of *England*. This gave such a reputation to them, and to those that appeared for them, (that is, so far for them, as to endeavour the doing of right to them, and to prevent the practices of those who sought all means of doing them wrong) and gave such a blow to the other violent party, so broke their power, and lessened their authority in the Parliament, that it made-way for obtaining those resolutions which were presently taken for disbanding Sir Thomas Fairfax's army. Till this time, by the fomenting jealousies against the *Scots*, and against all moderate and well-affected persons, as if their designs were to betray the cause, deliver-over the honour, and interest, and strength of *England*, into the hands of the *Scots*; they had prevailed so far, generally, upon the affection of the people, and especially, upon many well-meaning (but not so well-discerning) persons, Members of Parliament, that they were able to suppress all good motions, tending towards Peace, all endeavours of smoothing those rugged ways, that their violence had put all things into, and to swell-up that Independent Army, like the Spleen in the body, by the concourse of all ill-humours, to the ruin and consumption of the body itself: And, yet, other forces had been cashiered; as, for example, Major-general Massey's brigade, which had done all the service in the West, of which those drones robbed the sweet, getting the honour and advantage of it to themselves. That though that army was composed,

for

for the most part, of factious sectaries, except some few gallant men, that were scattered here and there, amongst them ; as Colonel *Greaves*, Colonel *Thomas Sheffield*, Sir *Robert Pye*, Colonel *Herbert*, Colonel *Butler*, Quarter-master General *Fincher*, and other officers of quality, and gentlemen of the life-guard, who had formerly served under my Lord of *Essex*, and Sir *William Waller*, and in other parts of the Kingdom, to whom they did the honour of letting them perform all the action which that army had to do, and who, every one of them, afterward left it, when it left its obedience to the Parliament, and fidelity to the Kingdom ; and, that they grew, to be not only an unnecessary grievous burden, in respect of charge, but also a let and hindrance to the settling all government, both civil and ecclesiastical, neither submitting themselves to the orders of Parliament, nor permitting others, where they could hinder it ; but giving countenance to all disorders, especially in the Church, as breaking open the church-doors, doing most unseemly, barbarous, things, indeed, not fit to be related, either to modest or Christian ears ; and, in time of divine-service, interrupting ministers as they were preaching, miscalling and reviling them ; sometimes pulling them down by violence, beating and abusing them ; getting into the pulpits themselves, and venting, either ridiculous or scandalous things, false and pernicious doctrines ; countenancing and publishing seditious pamphlets, (for which they had a press that followed the army) ; decrying both King and Parliament, and all authority, and infusing a rebellious spirit into the people, under the pretence of Liberty and Freedom. All this notwithstanding, while the Scottish army was in the Kingdom, such things were whispered, and such jealousies and fears raised, that these inconveniences were not only dispensed with, but the Army was supported and cherished, as if they had been the tutelary Gods of the Nation, who must have protected and delivered us from all danger ; and all that the Parliament and Kingdom could do, was thought little enough to feed and maintain them ; though they were an excrescence, that drew-away the whole nourishment of the body, and starved it.

67. But, afterwards, when the Kingdom saw how they had been abused, and made to fear where no fear was, and

But when the Scots were gone, and the fears of them were discovered to have

The army had long behaved in so factious and disorderly a manner as to be a publick inconvenience to the nation.

But could not be disbanded till the Scottish army had left the Kingdom, by reason of the jealousies against the Scots, infused by the violent party into all sorts of people.

been groundless, the people were desirous that the army should be disbanded.

Feb. 1646-7.

The parliament resolve to send part of the army to Ireland,
March 6, 1646-7.

Col. Hammond makes difficulties about going to Ireland.
March 22, 1646-7.

were come to themselves, they soon grew to feel the weight of that which lay upon them, and to seek for ease. Then City and Country could petition the Parliament for the disbanding of the Army, and could complain of their intolerable disorders and irregularities; and the Parliament was well-disposed to comply with their desires, who now likewise discovered the art and malice of the Independent Party, a spirit they had raised which they would gladly lay, and considered, that, as such an Army was dangerous, so none at all was at that time needful, and that *Ireland* wanted what we had too much of, Soldiers.

68. Besides, they well saw that, whilst that Army stood, they should never be able to relieve *Ireland* to any purpose, as the stock of the kingdom was swallowed-up in their maintenance; and, though for the space of a whole year there had not been an enemy in the field, nor a town possessed by any to find them employment, yet they recruited daily, all care being taken for sending them pay, arms, provisions, clothes, with all other necessaries, as if they were every day upon hard and dangerous service, when, in truth, they did nothing but trouble and oppress the country; so as (notwithstanding their glorious pretences of fighting for conscience, not for pay, and sacrificing themselves to God and the Kingdom's cause,) none of them would stir to help the poor Protestants in that Kingdom, but even hindered, what they could, all others from going.

69. Which appeared by colonel *Hammond's* capitulation, being designed for the service of *Dublin*; who, though he had been but an Ensign to Sir *Simon Harcourt* in the beginning of those wars, was now a Colonel of the New Model, and stood upon his pantoufles; stipulating, "That he would not be obliged for longer than two or three months; would have all his pay before-hand; victuals for six months, though he would stay but two; be absolute commander of all the forces there; have a proportion of money over and above, for contingent occasions, put into what hands he would appoint; a fleet of ships to transport him, wait upon him, and be at his disposing, not to stir without his leave; in truth he must be both Admiral and General;" such terms that no Prince, or foreign State, that had but given an assistance, could have stood upon higher. This was the obedient, conscientious, Army. But most men were satisfied, that,

if

If it was not disbanded, *Ireland* must be lost, and *England* undone.

70. The Parliament, therefore, taking into their consideration the necessity of relieving that dying Kingdom, after long debate, and much opposition from all that party, came at last to a resolution, in *May 1647*, and vote, that a certain proportion of foot and horse should forthwith be transported into *Ireland* (as I remember seven regiments of foot, of which four, I am certain, were to be taken out of the Army) : they further vote, that no foot should be continued in *England*, but those that were to be for the necessary defence of the garrisons, and that above five thousand horse and dragoons, should remain under pay in this kingdom, for quieting and preventing any stir or trouble, either within, or from abroad, to interrupt proceedings till a settlement of affairs : peoples minds after such commotions being, like the sea after a storm, unquiet for some time, though the wind be abated. Those men would have had a far greater number, and pressed it earnestly, saying, We laid-by our strength, that all might be delivered-back into the King's hands. And, though even this proportion seemed very great to discreet and moderate men, yet they pitched upon it, partly, to stop the mouths of these railers, and give satisfaction to all indifferent persons, who looked not so far into business, and were apt enough to be misled into jealousies and suspicions; and partly, because they well-hoped, it would be but for some short time, that this charge should be continued upon the Kingdom.

71. Here then is the axe first laid to the root of this broad spreading tree, the Army ; a dismal cypress, the shadow and droppings whereof were so pernicious as to darken all the comfortable beams of our sun-shine of Peace, and to suffer no good thing to prosper near it. This vexed the children of darkness, who now must cast-about, shake Heaven and Earth, raise all the black spirits of Hell, confound sea and land, and all the elements, rather than permit this to take place.

72. The Parliament goes-on with this work, refers it to the Committee of Lords and Commons at *Derby-house*, to see those votes concerning *Ireland* put in execution.

May, 1647.

The parliament vote to send some part of the army to *Ireland*, and to disband the rest, excepting only what number of foot may be necessary for the garrisons, and five thousand horse and dragoons.

A committee of parliament are directed to put this vote in execution.

The

The eleven Members were, almost all of them, of that Committee, who may say *Hinc illæ Lachrimæ*. For, doing their parts together with the rest, in discharge of the duty and trust, which lay upon them, to take care of that poor kingdom, and discovering the designs of the Army to frustrate all the good designs of the Parliament,—they incur the mortal hatred of the Party and the Army, which have driven them from their homes, and country, and the City of London, without the privity or consent of the

They go-down to the army for that purpose.

March, 1647.

But are ill received by the army.

March 22, 1647.

But some of the officers consent to go to Ireland.

March 29, 1647.

Notwithstanding the reproaches and mutinous behaviour of the rest.

The officers prepare a petition and representation.

March 22, 1647.

March, 1647.

House of Parliament. The Earl of Warwick, the Lord Dacres, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, Major General Massey, and Mr. Salloway, are the persons employed. These labour to dispose officers and soldiers to a compliance with the necessities of *Ireland*; but at the very first were received with a mutinous acclamation amongst the officers, whom they had called together, some of them crying-out, “One and all,” and the whole company being disturbed and distempered. So that, finding it not convenient to deal with them together in a body, they desired, that such as had a sense of the miserable condition of that Kingdom, and a will to engage for the relief of it, would repair to them to their lodgings; which very many did, colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and other officers, and undertook for themselves, and a very considerable number of their soldiers, about 1,500, or 2,000, casting themselves wholly upon the Parliament for their conditions.

The rest of the officers and soldiers of the Army did all that was possible to obstruct the service, decrying the employment, railing upon, misusing, threatening, and thereby discouraging, those who engaged, calling them deserters of the Army and of their General, and, by great offers and assurance of better conditions to stay with them, keeping of others.

73. And at that very time did some of the officers meet and prepare a Petition, together with a representation, in the name of the whole Army, “That, before disbanding, there might be an Act of Indemnity with the King’s royal assent to it; that auditors might speedily repair to the Army to cast-up their accounts for their service from the beginning; that none who had served voluntarily in that Army, should be compelled to go out of the Kingdom; and that, till disbanded, money might be sent-down for their

their supply.' This was a fair beginning of the godly Army's taking care for *Ireland*, and of those good officers proceedings, who had been declared to be so obedient to the Parliament, that merely for that merit, they had been made choice of, and put into the rooms of far better men than themselves.—Now, forsooth, when the Parliament would have some of them go for *Ireland*, they will put the whole Army into a mutiny.

74. For an Army, or any part of it, to join in a Petition, tho' but for pay, when their superiors (that authority which they are bound to obey) require any duty to be performed, or service to be done by them, (as the present relieving of *Ireland* was,)—this, I think, by the rules of war, has, in all armies, been held a mutiny, and the soldiers guilty of such misconduct, or at least, the authors and directors of it, have been punished with death. Here, that they may be sure it shall mutiny to purpose, and not disband, according to the resolutions of Parliament; they put them not only to petition in this mutinous way, but to desire impossibilities, as *Tacitus* says, *Non ut assequerentur, sed causam seditioni*, not to rest satisfied with former ordinances, and the general care taken for all who had served in these unhappy wars, but to demand a particular Act of Indemnity with his Majesty's approbation;—not that they cared for him, or meant ever to see him again in power to enact any thing, which their proceedings since have made clear to all men's understandings (though some discerned it very well to be their principle and their drift from the beginning) but they knew this would take-up time, could not possibly be so soon done, and would elude all endeavours of disbanding. So for auditors to go and cast-up their accounts, was the work of many months, and a strange demand for this godly, obedient, Army to make, who, by their own sayings, were not mercenary, but had taken-up arms in judgement and conscience, and out of love and duty to the Parliament, not for their pay. Their other demand is as good, and is as much as to say, that the Parliament should send none of them for *Ireland*;—they who were the Parliament's Army, who, as Mr. *Cromwell* made us believe, would go, with a word, to any part of the World, whither the Parliament would please to send them; and therefore the other Armies, and Major-General *Massey*'s forces, must be

be cashiered, (those who certainly would have gone) to make way for their entertainment. These now, who had received the pay of the Kingdom solong ;—the sole Army, (which, like *Pharaoh's* lean kine, had eaten all the rest, and had the sword of the Parliament singly and wholly in their hands,) stand upon terms, and will not be compelled to go, that is, will not go ; for they know that none is compelled for *Ireland*, nor was there any thought of it, since many were willing to engage in that war, who were not so in this. But this was enough to possess the army with a prejudice against the employment, and against the intentions and proceedings of Parliament.

75. This Petition, and other of their practices, so interrupted the business, that our Commissioners, at their return, informed both Houses of it, who yet were so tender, of conceiving, or expressing, any great dislike of the contrivers and promoters of the Petition, for obstructing the service of *Ireland*, and distempering the army, and that those who had but been drawn in it, should not find themselves lessened in their good opinion, who resolved to pass by all, and punish none, except such as should mutinously persist in the promoting of it. They sent likewise up for some of the officers that had more notoriously appeared therein, and, in discouraging, and abusing them, who offered themselves in the Irish service : Whose miscarriage, though it was very gross, and the answers of some of them at the House of Commons-bar, mere collusion and equivocation, (as by name, Lieutenant-Colonel *Pride's*, who being charged with causing the Petition to be read at the head of his regiment, denied it stoutly, because, it seems, it was but at the head of every company, the regiment not being drawn-up together) notwithstanding all this, the House willing to bury what was past, and hoping it would

The Parliament send up for some of the officers that were the most forward in the mutiny.

April 10, 1647.

But acquiesce in their bare denial of the act.

have gained them to a better obedience for the future, sent them down again, rather with respect than otherwise, acquiescing with their denial. And this very act of clemency was turned against them ; and, afterwards, when the army came to do their work, barefaced, no longer to excuse, but justify that Petition, nay, make the Parliament criminous for questioning it ; they upbraided the

House

House with sending-up for the officers from their charge, when they had nothing to say to them.

76. The necessity of disbanding, more and more appearing, it hastens the resolutions for it ; whereupon, it was ordered, that officers and soldiers, should have six weeks pay of their arrears, and so be disbanded ; and those that would be taken-in for *Ireland*, to have six weeks more advance. The Parliament, at first, pitched upon no greater sum, it being the highest that had yet been given to any. Major-general *Massey's* brigade, which had been much longer without pay, and had done better service, had no more. The other armies, under my Lord of *Essex*, and Sir *William Waller*, which, likewise, had done more work, the chief-and-main of it all, as having had a stronger force to grapple with, and yet had received less wages, were put-off with a fortnight's pay. This made the Parliament think this proportion sufficient ; yet, afterwards, they, of themselves, increased it to two-months, which was more than any had before. Supposing then, there would be no question of a compliance, they proceed to perfect what was further necessary for the supply of *Ireland*, and safety of *England*.

77. For *England*, they appointed what regiments of horse and dragoons shall stand, settle the garrisons, name Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General of all the forces under pay : which was sufficient honour for him for the service he had done ; and shewed that they had no meaning to dismiss those with reproach who had served them, as they were falsely scandalized.

78. For *Ireland*, they make Serjeant-major General *Skippon*, Commander in Chief, with the title of Field-marshall, and Major-general *Massey*, Lieutenant-general of the horse ; recommend it to the Committee at *Derby-house*, to prepare all things necessary for the forwarding of that service, and draw-off such of the army as were willing to go. For the distempers there continued, those who had declared themselves willing to go to *Ireland*, being affronted, discouraged, and many of them debaucht from that service.

79. This was faithfully performed by the Committee, that is, by part of it ; for some of them, (as the Sollicitor*, *Cromwell*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and those of their

They then order six weeks pay to be sent to the army, and, that they be disbanded. April 27, 1647.

And six weeks pay more to those who will go for *Ireland*. May 14, 1649. Essex's and Waller's armies had but a fortnight's pay at the disbanding.

The Parliament soon after increases the six weeks pay to two months. May 14, 1647.

The Parliament proceed to settle the army for *England*. April 8, 1647.

And for *Ireland*. April 2, 1647.

The Committee of Parliament sends Colonel Jones, with some regiments, to *Ireland*. April 8, 1647.

* Oliver Saint John.

gang) would not attend, but the others did. And, if I may speak it without vanity, it being one of the great crimes with which the eleven Members stand charged, by their care and industry they put the whole business into such a way, not only doing their best endeavours to have sent-over the forces that should have gone-out of the army, but sending-over others also, (as Colonel *Jones*, and those regiments which went to *Dublin*,) and supplying, in the best manner they could, my Lord *Inchiqueen*, and those forces which were there before, with such necessaries as they could provide, that, by the blessing of God, the foundation was laid for all the good which has since befallen that Kingdom, and for the great advantages which those gallant men have gotten upon the Rebels, notwithstanding the little assistance they have since received, having, in truth, been rather hindered than helped; for every body knows the Malice which is borne them, by that party which now bears sway, what discouragements my Lord *Inchiqueen* has laboured under, and the small regard that has been had to Colonel *Jones*. Yet they have subsisted, and not only preserved, but advanced very much, the English interest, with honour to themselves, and shame to these unworthy men, who are so little sensible of the conditions of the poor Protestants there, preferring their particular revenge, and prosecution of their damnable end, before all that is of honour and justice, and either of duty to God and their Country, or compassion to their distressed brethren.

The officers incense
the soldiers against
the Parliament.

80. The officers, in the mean-time, play their parts below, in the army. They had already engaged the soldiers to stand upon pay, an Act of Indemnity, and some other immunities;—plausible things, to make them, all of a-piece, enter into a kind of a league and combination one with another, and so become fit to receive any other impression, and unite upon it. Therefore, now they go a step further, to incense them against the Parliament, misrepresenting all passages and proceedings to them, as if the intention were to force them for *Ireland*, and therefore, starve them, or dismiss them with shame, and expose them to question and trouble for what they had done in the wars; so engaging them to persist upon their demands in that Petition, and ask reparation of the Parliament,

ment, for wrong done them, by the Commissioners, sent down for the business of *Ireland*, and other Members of the House, whom they had characterized to be enemies to the Army: whereby they put them into such a distemper, as all thoughts of duty and obedience were cast-off, nothing so odious as the Parliament, nothing would satisfy but revenge.

81. When they had wrought the feat, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* himself came to *London*, upon pretence of taking physick; *Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Rainsborough*, who were Members of the House of Commons, as well as principal officers of the Army, keep the House, that the Soldiers might be left to themselves to fire the more, run-up to extremes, and put themselves into a posture to carry-on their work of Rebellion with a high and violent hand, which had been so handsomely done: for either they must have appeared in it and joined with the Soldiers, which had been too gross, or have stopped it in the beginning, crushed the Serpent in the Egg, which had been most easy, but was contrary to their design. So now they give the business time to foment, and the Rebellion to grow to some head, that afterwards, when they should come amongst them, (for they could not but expect the Parliament would send them down) they might seem to be carried with the violence, and to give some way for preventing greater inconveniences, and to keep them from extremities till the Monster was formed, and got to that strength, as to protect itself and them; when they might, without danger, declare for it; which they afterwards did. In the mean time disclaiming it, blaming the Soldiers at that distance (as *Cromwell* did openly in the House, protesting, for his part, he would stick to the Parliament) whilst under-hand they sent them encouragements and directions; for nothing was done there, but by advice and countenance from *London*, where the whole business was so laid, the Rebellion resolved upon, and the officers that were in town so deeply engaged, that when the full time was come for putting things in execution, my friend *Cromwell*, who had been sent-down by the Parliament to do good offices, was come-up again without doing any, and he, who had made those solemn publick protestations, with some great imprecations on himself,

The great officers of the army stay away from it, to give the disorders there time to increase.

And outwardly blame the soldiers, but under-hand encourage them.

Cromwell is sent to the army to pacify them, but returns to *London* without doing it; (but this is some time afterwards. See pag. 242, art. 85.

And soon after con-
veys his goods from
London.

Then goes-down
again to the army.

The army sets-up
the council of Agi-
tators.

May 14, 1647.

self, if he failed in his performance, did, notwithstanding, privily convey thence his goods (which many of the Independents likewise did, leaving City and Parliament as marked-out for destruction) and then, without leave of the House (after some Members, missing him, and fearing him gone, had moved to have him sent-for; whereupon he, being, as it seems, not yet gone, and having notice of it, came and shewed himself a little in the House) did steal-away that evening;—I may say, run-away post, down to the Army, and presently join in the subscription of a rebellious Letter, whereof I shall speak anon. But let him take heed those imprecations fall not upon him, which many times God remembers, and takes men at their word, meeting with them in their dissembling wishes, when themselves least think of them, perhaps have forgot that ever they made them. This by the way.

82. For the present the thing pitched-upon was to set-up a kind of Council (like the supreme Council of the Irish Rebels, but that those, were, most of them, persons of birth and degree, these *ex fæce populi*) under the name of *Agitators*. Two (as I take it) were chosen out of every regiment; at first, I think, but common Soldiers (though afterwards some officers were added) to transact this business. These now, forsooth, seem to acknowledge no officer, but to rule and dispose of all things as they think good. They take into consideration, what is fit to be done, what not, and give their orders accordingly, examine and censure the Orders and Votes of Parliament, receive all complaints, give the redress, send-out their Warrants and Commands, write their letters, exercise a general power over all, set-up a new form of government in the Army, and in the end are instrumental to their masters to possess themselves of his Majesty's person, subdue Parliament, City, and Kingdom, and be revenged upon all those, who had formerly given any disturbance, to the carrying-on of their design, till such time as the work was done, which they had set them to do. But then Mr. Cromwell, and his officers, could give a stop to their proceedings. And when the Agitators thought to do as formerly, and finish, what, they were made to believe, should be the Catastrophe of their Tragedy, which was the

the destruction of the King, and alteration of the Government, Counsels not being at that time so disposed, nor the time ripe for the execution, they soon found their locks were cut, and (the influence of their superiors ceasing) their strength failed, so as they brought but confusion to themselves. Three of the chief were condemned to die for mutiny; but *Cromwell*, (being a merciful Prince), would take but one; who was shot to death; the rest were reduced to subjection and obedience, their Council-Table dissolved, and their castles in the air vanished into smoke. But these things fell-out long after; at the present time they triumph, act all, and drive-on the design; *Cromwell* and his fellows standing behind the curtain, laugh'd in their sleeves, and pleased themselves to see the game which they had packt, play so well.

83. The first act of these new Rulers, was a Letter sent to their three principal Officers, (who were then in London; and, innocent persons, God knows! knew nothing of all this;) Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon*. For this last, to do him right, I think that, at that time, he was, indeed innocent; but afterwards, (I must avow it,) he, together with the help of Mr. *Marshal*, a minister,) contributed more to the success of their villanies, (betraying the Parliament and City into their hands,) than all that *Cromwell*, the Sollicitor, *Ireton*, and the rest of the crew, did or could do. And, no question, he will be sufficiently rewarded for it by them; for they are good at it to pay dear out of the publick Store for any man's conscience, that will be sold, and may be useful to them.

The Agitators send
a seditious letter to
their Generals.

84. This Letter was an exclamation against the Parliament, containing false and untrue complaints of wrongs done to the Soldiers at Assizes in the Counties, and a protestation against the Irish Expedition, calling it a design to break the Army, and declaring, if any of these three Commanders should engage, their averseness to it (though one of them, *Skippon*, was by the Parliament appointed, and had accepted it), and, in plain English, saying that they would not disband, nor receive any other propositions from the Parliament, till their expectations were satisfied. Three of the Agitators brought this Letter, and *Skippon* acquainted the House with it.

The Contents of the
said Letter.

They were then sent-for into the House, and carried themselves at the Bar in a slighting, braving, manner, refusing to answer such questions as the Speaker, by order of the House, put to them; saying, "they were employed by the Army, and could not, without leave from thence, discover any thing." Many of the House, resenting this high affront, were earnest to have them severely punished; but that party stood as stiffly for them, insomuch, that the worthy Burgess of *Newcastle*, Mr. *Warmworth*, stood-up, and said "he would have them committed, indeed; but it should be to the best Inn of the Town, and with good sack and sugar provided for them;" which was as ridiculous as it was a bold and insolent scorn, put upon the Parliament. At last, even Mr. *Skippon* himself excused them, saying "that they were honest men, and that he wisht they might not be too severely dealt-with:" whereupon the House flattered, let them go without punishment, and, by this tameness, increased their madness and presumption. Whereas, had they served them as Mr. *Cromwell*, afterwards did their fellows, that is. hanged one of them (they all well deserving it) it might probably have given a stop to their career, and prevented a great deal of mischief, which has since befallen the Kingdom by their means.

The Parliament
sends the officers,
who were Members
of the House, to the
army, to quiet the
Soldiers.

85. All that we did (whether it was fate or design, I knownot; but it proved our ruin:) was to command down to the Army, the officers that were Members of the House, such as were in town, and the General himself. I say, I know not, if there were a design in it; because afterwards, upon just such another occasion, we sent Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Mr. *Scawen*, and some others; which I am sure was a thing laid; and this wrought the same effect as that did, even put the different branches of the Army together, the better to contrive and lay their business, joining the counsels of the Officers to the actings of the Agitators, so to hatch that horrid Rebellion, which soon after broke-out, to the utter ruin (if God's hand of mercy interpose not) of the Parliament and Kingdom. They were sent to allay the distempers, and to prevent inconveniences. But, how they discharged that trust, will soon appear.

But they encourage
the mutiny.

86. Instead of discountenancing, reproofing, and suppressing, that disposition to mutiny,—that standing upon terms

terms with the Parliament,—those meetings and consultations, by which the ill-humour was nourished ;—and, instead, of persuading them to a fitting obedience and submission ;—and laying the regiments farther asunder from each other, to lessen and abate the contagion ;—they gave them occasion to encrease their distempers and give them vent, by asking them “ what they will have,” calling the officers together, and sending them to their several regiments to be informed of their designs; and, by drawing them together (when already so indisposed and inflamed,) inflame them the more. A strange way of quieting an Army that was in a way to Rebellion and had begun to set-up a new government amongst themselves by their Agitators ;—which sped accordingly, and produced the effect that they desired, *a representation of grievances*; in which the whole Army now joined and engaged, except some few gallant men, both Officers and Soldiers, who detested those proceedings.

The Army sends up
a representation of
grievances.

87. This representation is brought-up to the House by Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, and Colonel *Fleetwood*, who had the faces to say (just as the representation begins), that the Army was quiet and free from any visible distemper: which was only to amuse us. But then it expostulates with the Parliament the making of the fore-mentioned Declaration, and the sending-for up, and questioning, those persons who had been complained-of, for obstructing the service of *Ireland*; justifies them; taxes the Commissioners of Parliament, and other Members of the House, for doing ill offices to the Army; and stands upon all the particulars of the first Petition.

88. The House was very much dissatisfied with these proceedings, and, if ever it denied itself, did it then : for it was willing to give the Army satisfaction, in all things possible, to free the Kingdom of that burden; even dispensing with their own honours.

The parliament
complies with the
army in several par-
ticulars.

89. They pass several ordinances for indemnity, freeing from pressing, the relief of maimed soldiers, widows, and orphans, with such alterations and amendments as the Army desired. Concerning the proportion of pay, upon disbanding, which was eight weeks, they conceived it could not be enlarged, in regard of the great present expense, to which they were necessitated for the supply of

But refuse to in-
crease their pay upon
disbanding.

Ireland; That the two hundred thousand pounds, which for those two occasions were then borrowed of the City of *London*, would scarce serve.

90. Therefore, upon these terms both Houses concluded for the disbanding, begin with the foot, and appoint to every regiment, as they lay quartered, a rendezvous at some Town near, where they were to lay-down their Arms, receive their money, and have passes to their several homes. Those that would engage for *Ireland*, to march to some other place near hand, there to receive Advance-money and further Orders.

91. The several ordinances and orders were sent to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who then had his head-quarters at *Bury*; and two Lords and four Commoners were appointed Commissioners, to repair to the several places appointed for disbanding, with Money, and directions to see the service performed, and to assist Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in it, who was desired to issue-out his orders, for the regiments drawing to those places.

92. Then it was referred to a Committee of the Army, to put into a way, the stating of the accounts, both of Officers and Soldiers; and where more than two months appeared to be due, the Commission-Officer was to receive his debentur, from the Committee and Treasurer of the Army, it being appointed where he should be paid. The inferior Officer and common Soldier was to have his security upon the Excise. Let any man now judge, if the Army had any cause to complain, if all was not done, that, with any colour of reason and modesty, could be expected.

The army refuses to
be disbanded.
June 1, 1647.

93. Our Commissioners, who were the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *De la Ware*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Mr. *Grimston*, and two others, went to *Chelmsford*, the first of June, the rendezvous appointed for the General's regiment, whither the Lieutenant-Colonel came, Lieutenant-Colonel *Jackson*, an honest and gallant man, with a resolution to conform to the Order of Parliament; but a command comes from the General to the regiment, to march another way, for drawing the quarter near together.

94. For, upon the 29th of *May*, when the votes were sending-down for disbanding, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had called

And appoint a ren-
dezvous to each regi-
ment, to be there
disbanded.

And send a commit-
tee to assist in the
disbanding.

And make proper
provision for paying
the army their
arrears.

called a Council of War, of the factious officers (the honest officers, who were for submitting to the Parliament, and a quiet disbanding, having before been most of them abused, and forced-away by the violence of the Soldiers, and commands of the Agitators, he conniving at it) where they resolve upon an humble advice to his Excellency, " That, since their grievances were not at all satisfied, and jealousies were very great, it would not be safe to disband, but rather to draw the Army into a close posture (there being a great propensity in the Soldiers to a general rendezvous) and then resume the consideration of the grievances, and of the Votes for disbanding, and to suspend, for the present, any proceedings upon these votes ; " which advice his Excellency follows. So the Parliament commands to disband, Sir Thomas to march-away, and draw to a rendezvous: Fit he should be obeyed.

Sir Thomas Fairfax calls a Council of War consisting of factious officers, who advise him to disobey the order of Parliament concerning the disbanding a part of the Army; and he complies with this advice.
May 29, 1647.

95. At the very same time, Colonel Rainsborough does the like with his regiment, which was at Petersfield in Hampshire, designed for Jersey, and so far upon the way; himself continuing at London to attend the House of Commons, (of which he was a Member,) and pretending to prepare for that employment, which had been entrusted to him; but, in truth, with an intention to give his Soldiers an opportunity to mutiny, as the rest of the Army did; who, to give them the more time for it, would not presently acquaint the House with the intelligence he had received of their disorder, but, having received the news of it in the morning, kept it to himself, till towards the evening, (even denying his knowledge of any such thing,) when Sir William Lewis informed the House of it, and about five or six o'clock in the afternoon (the House then, by accident, being still sitting, as these deportments of the Army gave them cause sufficient) spoke of it, and said they were in a great distemper, and resolved not to march to the sea-side, but to return to Oxford; whereupon, being sent-down to quiet them, and reduce them to obedience, he went immediately, but put himself at the head of them, and, instead of taking care for Jersey, marched to Oxford first, and so to the Army; and none was more violent in the Rebellion than he: for which good service, and joining with the Agitators in their highest exorbitances, for the destruction of the King, and altering of the Government, and particularly in a

Colonel Rainsborough acts in disobedience to the orders of Parliament.

N. B.

Petition for taking-away the House of Lords, the House of Commons afterwards made him Vice-Admiral. And the Lords, to the eternizing their honour for their gentle, tame dispositions, consented.

The army seize the person of the King.
June 4, 1647.

96. But one thing was yet wanting (as they thought) for the carrying-on their design, and amusing the poor people of *Eng/and*, with an expectation of their settling a Peace, so to make them sit-still and look-on, whilst they trampled upon Parliament, City and Kingdom ; which was to be possest of the King's person, and make the world believe, they would bring him up to his Parliament, and set him on his throne. For this, it seems, a meeting was appointed at Lieutenant-General *Cromwell's*, upon the thirtieth of *May*, where it is resolved, “ That Cornet *Joyce* should, with a party of horse, go to *Holmby*, and seize upon his Majesty ; ” which is presently executed, and it is given-out, that others had the like design, which they had prevented. At first it must seem only to be the act of Mr. *Joyce* ; *Cromwell* protested that he knew nothing of it (though he was the man that appointed it to be done, as appears by what has been recited, taken-out of some of their own authors, one that calls himself *Sirrah Niho*, and others) ; Sir *Thomas Fairfax* writes a letter to the House, professes the same for himself, as in the presence of God, with a large undertaking for the rest of his officers, and the body of the Army. And, perhaps, he said true ; I would fain be so charitable as to believe it ; nor indeed do I think the good man is privy to all their plots ; he must have no more than what they are pleased to carve and chew for him ; but must swallow all, and own them, when they come abroad. Here then they have the King, *Joyce* drives-away the guards, forces Colonel *Greaves* to fly, whom else they threatened to kill, (for no man's life must stand in their way, murder being no sin in the visible Saints) carries-away his Majesty, and the Commissioners that attend him, prisoners ; and immediately sends-up a letter to certify what he had done, with directions that it should be delivered to *Cromwell*, and, if he is absent, to Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, or, to Colonel *Fleetwood* ; which Letter was given to Colonel *Fleetwood*, as one Lieutenant *Markham* informed the House, saying, that the messenger that

that brought it told him so : nor did Sir Arthur Haslerig make a clear answer, when he was asked concerning it in the House : Colonel Fleetwood being at that time gone to the army, so that he could not be examined.

97. By this trick, they hope to catch the people, and so find no resistance to their traitorous proceedings : yet they will not trust only to juggling ; they will play a sure game, and have power in their hands to go through the work, and make their way, if it will not be given. Therefore, the army must be put into a posture for it. They have the soldiers already ; they must have artillery and ammunition ; so, at the same meeting, Cromwell, likewise, appoints Joyce (as the same authors relate) to repair to Oxford, secure that garrison, the magazine, and train of artillery ; which had there lain many months, the army having had nothing to do, and so no use for it ; and which, therefore, the Parliament had then ordered to be removed and brought-back to the Tower, the place where all stores are kept. But those who were sent-down by the Parliament for that purpose, were, by these Mutineers beaten and wounded, the magazine and train kept-away by force, and, besides, some three, or four, thousand pounds, in money, taken from them, which they had carried-down for disbanding of the regiment there in garrison. And now, they think they have all in their own hands, the fish is caught, they may throw-away the net. They begin, therefore, to appear in their own colours ; Cromwell, Ireton, with the rest of the cabal, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, in the last place (who, though he be General, is not to lead, but will be sure to follow close) may now lay-aside their innocence and their ignorance, (for all this while they knew nothing) and put themselves in the head of the Agitators, own all they have done, and, at Triploe Heath, near Cambridge, appoint a general rendezvous, there to declare themselves, and avowedly enter into the Confederacy.

96. At this rendezvous, was framed that solemn engagement, wherein, they say, they look upon the resolutions of the Parliament for their disbanding, as proceeding from malicious and mischievous principles and intentions, and not without carnal and bloody purposes. That, therefore, they are resolved not to appear at the

The army seizes the magazine at Oxford, and a sum of money sent-down thither by the Parliament.

The great Officers openly join with the rest of the army.

And appoint a general rendezvous at Triploe-heath, June 10, 1647.

And then all the army enter into a solemn engagement not to be disbanded till their grievances are redressed.

places thereto appointed, and then declare, agree, and promise, to, and with each other, That, till they have such satisfaction, in all their grievances, and such security, for the future, as shall be agreed-on at a council, consisting of the General officers, with two commission-officers, and two soldiers, to be chosen for each regiment, they will not disband or divide, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded or divided. And, this is one result of that meeting of the godly, obedient, Army,—this the fruit of the new Model, and of all the great undertakings of that Man of God (as his disciples call him) Lieutenant-general Cromwell, in their behalf.

And send another representation of grievances to the Parliament. June 15, 1647.

In which they complain of some Members of Parliament.

99. They likewise frame there another submissive business, which they called an humble representation of the dissatisfaction of the army, in relation to the late resolution for so sudden disbanding, where they are more large in their humble cudgelling of the Parliament, and do it to that purpose, with a scorn of all that had been offered to their satisfaction, say, The private soldiers will not regard what is behind of pay after disbanding, implying all must be had, require further security for the officers arrears, as forest-lands, and the revenues of cathedrals, quarrel with the Ordinances past for indemnity, exemption from pressing, &c. expostulate about the declaration against their seditious Petition, yet standing in force, demand reparation for questioning their mutinous officers, and will have it against those Members of the House who had done but their duty, and discharged their consciences, in that particular; declare plainly, that, though all their grievances were duly considered, it were nothing, except those persons were censured, calling them men of desperate principles, incendiaries, that must not continue to be their judges, that is, must not sit in Parliament, and much more of this nature, which, in contempt, they send-up to the House. These are they who fight for privilege of Parliament,—who have made a Covenant with God and Man so to do; and well they perform it; those they mislike must be thrust-out by head and shoulders; and, such as remain, if they be not obedient to them, shall be served with the same sauce: And, this is to make a free Parliament. Was there ever

a more

a more perfidious breach of duty ; did Rebellion itself ever out-do it, can any man think ? Yet, let us go a little further with them, and we shall see greater abominations than these.

100. All this while they seemed to desire only things concerning themselves, though very unfittingly and wickedly, both for matter and manner ; yet, not to meddle with any thing else, concerning settling the business of the kingdom, which, in many messages and declarations, they still protested against, saying (as Sir Thomas Fairfax wrote-up from Cambridge) That, whatever was suggested or suspected, they would leave all such matters to the wisdom of the Parliament. But now, *Tempora mutantur* ; they have power in their hands, and the Kingdom shall feel it ; the Parliament shall not only give them what they will have, but do what they will have done, or smart for it. They make the world believe, that they will set the King on his Throne and in possession of his Rights, and establish the People in their Liberties, and the Parliament in its Duty ; and a Golden Age is like to follow.

101. To this end they march-up in a hostile way towards *London*, bring his Majesty along with them from *Royston*. Sir Thomas Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the officers, write a letter to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, telling them, That the sum of what they have desired of the Parliament, is a satisfaction to their demands as soldiers, a reparation upon those that have improved advantages (as they falsely say,) by false suggestions, and misrepresentations, to the destruction of the army, and endeavoured to engage the Kingdom in a new war. That the things they insist upon, as Englishmen, are a settlement of the peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberties of the Subject, which, they say, they have as much right to demand as their money, or other common interest of soldiers, and that the honest people of *England* are full of the sense of ruin and misery, should they disband before. That, for the obtaining of these things, they are drawing near the City, and declare, That, if the City appear not against them, nor provoke them, they will give them no offence ; but, if they do, they call God to witness they are free,

Hitherto the army had confined their complaints to matters relating to themselves.

But now they undertake to settle the affairs of the Nation.

They draw nearer to London, and send a threatening letter to the Lord-Mayor and Corporation. June 26, 1647.

and

and have washed-off the ruin which will befall it : than they will lose all, rather than not be righted of the men they aim at; therefore desire, that, like fellow-subjects and brethren, the Citizens would sollicit the Parliament in their behalf.

102. Here they first take upon them openly to intermeddle with the business of the Kingdom, contrary to all their former Declarations and Protestations. But neither their words, nor yet their vows, were ever any rule to know their meaning by: as *Hammond* told the King, concerning *Cromwell*, so is it with all those visible Saints. Have they promised, vowed, sworn, never so much, called God and Man to witness? Yet, if the condition of their Catholick Cause so alter, that what they have so promised and sworn, be no longer expedient for them, a pretended enthusiasm, a new light, shall give them a dispensation, and they will do the clean contrary; yet, all out of tenderness of conscience. Well, they are now in strength and power, and will make use of it to turn all upside-down.

The resentment of the Parliament upon the news of the Army's disobedience.

103. The poor Parliament, all this while, is sitting upon addle-eggs, take a great deal of pains, like children, to build castles of cards; but, a puff from their faithful army blows it all down. It is true, that, at first, upon return of their Commissioners, who were sent-down to disband, and had brought them an account of the scorn put upon them;—how, instead of the regiments coming to the rendezvous appointed, a command from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* fetched them clear another way;—how the train of artillery was seized-upon at *Oxford*; the money which should have disbanded a regiment, was taken-away by force; and the servants, whom they had employed, were beaten and wounded;—this did, with good reason, startle them; many of the Members expressed a sharp and severe sense of it; the House was taking vigorous and honourable resolutions, though opposed with might and main by all the Independent Party, who prevailed but little, being now a known, engaged, Faction, till Serjeant Major-general *Skippon* stood-up, (a Presbyterian; one who had seemed to dislike those factious ways, before his last going-down to the army; who was nominated Commander in Chief for the Irish expedition, had received a gift of a thousand

A speech of General Skippon's disheartens them.

thousand pounds, by way of encouragement to go, but now was willing enough to stay at home with it;) he, forsooth, in a grave way, with a doleful countenance, and lamentable voice, makes a long speech to exhort them to moderation, and to bear with the Infirmities of a zealous, conscientious, army, which had done so much good service. Therefore, it was his opinion, we should humble ourselves before God, appoint a day of fasting, and do those things which the army desired, give them their full pay, alter the Ordinance according as they proposed; and, he was persuaded in his conscience, they would then be satisfied: however, they were not to be provoked; for they were a formed body, which would be upon us before we were aware. This knocked us on the head, especially his last argument, a demonstration τε οτι; so it is, “they are strong, they will fall upon you;” Timorous men, (as he knew many of those were whom he had to deal-with,) could make no reply to it.

104. But had he done his duty, given warning of those preparations and intentions sooner, when he was below with the Army so long, and could not choose but discern it, the House would not have been so surprised, and would have provided against it in time: but now fear took away the use of reason. They looked upon the Army as even at their doors, *Hannibal ad portas*, and all of them children of *Anak*, armed giants, not to be resisted.

105. Whereas, in truth, there was no such cause of fear. As they in the Army had more cause, (carrying about them so much guilt,) so I am confident they had as great a share of apprehension. But they presumed upon their agents among us; as they knew we had such persons with us, both in Parliament and City, who would betray us, possessed with the like evil spirit as Ahab's prophets were; we should prevail, otherwise we were not in so despicable a condition. The Parliament had not yet utterly lost their reputation; the Image of Authority was not wholly defaced in them; they had a stock, entire and untouched, of 200,000*l.* provided for disbanding the Army, and for the service of *Ireland*; a multitude of officers and gallant soldiers about the town, who had always fought

The Parliament
might at first have
resisted the Army.

fought gallantly, and obeyed readily, had little reason to be in love with the Army, which had unhorsed them ; so it is likely, would have engaged cheerfully, and done good service. The City was high in the opinion of the People for courage and resolution, firmness to the Parliament, zeal in the cause, hatred of Independency, dislike of the Army, and a purse to make all good, give sinews and strength to that side with which they should close, and had particularly presented many Petitions to the House for those very things which they were doing, and the Army only came to undo ; which were in order to a Peace, restoring the King, settling the Government both in Church and State, and giving ease and quietness to the Kingdom ; so that they were, in truth, already engaged with us, and waited but a summons to declare themselves, when, by this unfortunate man's interposition at that time (to whom chiefly, and to his Chaplain *Marshal*, we must attribute all the evil that has since befallen King and Kingdom) all was dashed ; instead of a generous resistance to the insolencies of perfidious servants vindicating the honour of the Parliament, discharging the trust that lay upon them to preserve a poor People from being ruined and enslaved to a rebellious Army, they deliver-up themselves and Kingdom to the will of the their enemies, prostitute all to the lust of heady and violent men, and suffer Mr. *Cromwell* to saddle, ride, switch, and spur, them, at his pleasure.

106. For we instantly fell as low as dirt, vote the common soldier his full pay, the officers a month more (that is, in all, three months) upon disbanding or engaging for *Ireland*, take all our Ordinances in pieces, change and alter them according to their minds, and (which is worst of all) expunge our Declaration against that mutinous Petition, cry *Peccavimus* to save a whipping ; but all would not do.

107. Insomuch that, when our Commissioners were sent-down to the Army at *Triploe Heath*, to give an account of our dutiful compliance, they would not vouchsafe to hear them ; but, when they offered to read the votes, cry-out, " Justice, Justice," a note that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had taught them to sing, being done by their directions,

But too tamely submit to it.

And pass such votes as they desire.
June 3, 1647

The Parliament's Commissioners are ill received by the army at Triploe Heath.

directions, as some of their own Disciples, falling-out with them, have since discovered; which was by Mr. Scawen, who was one of those who were sent, reported-back to the House, in such a ghastly, fearful, manner (only to terrify us, and make us more supple) he saying, the Army was so strong, so unanimous, so resolved, as the poor Presbyterians hearts fell an inch lower, and the Independents made themselves merry with it. Then, forsooth, the Houses must send-down Members to abide with the Army, as with a Power independent, or a third Estate, improve all advantages and opportunities, to give good impressions of the actions and intentions of the poor Parliament, and, like *Benhadad's* servants, catch at any thing of comfort which might fall; these were, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Serjeant Major-General *Skippon*, Mr. *Scawen*, and Mr. *Povey*.

Some Members of Parliament are sent-down to abide continually with the army.

108. In the mean time the Army is marching, draws nearer and nearer to the City, where, as well as in the Parliament. Men were between hopes and fears; looking upon what was done sufficient to appease them, what then offered, what they always intended for doing right to the Army; and, in truth, to all persons, they could not but hope as well. But seeing the postures and proceedings of the other side, there was more cause of fear, till at last that Letter came to the City of which I spoke before, which satisfied our doubtings; and, when the Citizens who were sent from the Common-Council brought it to the Parliament, the horror and indignation of such an Impiety, so great a Presumption, so manifest a Rebellion, awakened us to see our danger, and mastered those fears which had been given us to awe us from resistance, so that both Houses and the City resolved to put themselves in a posture of defence, appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to go into the City, call the Committee of the Militia of *London* to them, and jointly and severally do what was necessary for our common safety.

The City is alarmed at the approach of the Army.

And still more at the receipt of the Letter from the Army.

A Resolution is taken to defend London against the Army.
June 12, 1647.

109. The Committee went and did their parts; but they found *Joab's* hand every where; the Army had so played *Absalom*, pretending an intention to settle Peace immediately, correct the exorbitancies with which the

But by the artifices of the friends of the army in the city, it is not executed.

People,

People had been oppressed and abused, restore the King with such other plausible things ; and their Agents had so industriously improved their interests, some false Brothers in the City, as Alderman *Foulks*, and Alderman *Gibbs*, so cunningly wrought upon mens' minds, sometimes upon their fears, setting-out the strength and power of the Army, which threatened nothing but ruin ; sometimes upon their hopes and desires of Peace, gilding over their proceedings, as all done in order to it ; sometimes upon the dislike of the present condition, assuring them all Taxes and Payments would by this means be taken off ; sometimes upon their credulity, making them believe, that those Persons whom the Army had in their eyes to remove, were not so well-affected to the publick, but had particular Ends and Designs of their own, to arm Reformadoes, and set-up the power of another Sword to rule and govern by, so to continue the miseries and burdens of the People : by which falsehoods and jugglings, those two chiefly, like *Jannes* and *Jambres*, had generally bewitched the City, and lulled it into a security, notwithstanding those, who had no other thought than to deliver their brethren and themselves from that subjection and vassalage to which they were then designed, and are since brought. As the Citizens resolved not to stir, but looked on to see what this Army would do ; some few did appear, rather to make objection, and hinder the business than help it ; and, though many good orders were made for putting the City in a posture to defend itself, none were obeyed : so on all hands the poor Parliament, and Kingdom, and City itself, were betrayed, and left to the mercy of the Army, whose mercy we shall soon see was Cruelty itself, Injustice, Oppression, Violence, and Rebellion in the highest degree.

The Army behaves with great insolence towards the Parliament.

110. They now thunder upon us with remonstrances, declarations, letters, and messages every day, commanding one day one thing, the next day another, making us vote and unvote, do and undo ; and, when they had made us do some ugly thing, jeer us, and say, our doing justifies their desiring it, as they served us concerning all we had granted for Pay, expunging our Declaration, passing the Ordinances for Indemnity against Pressing,

and

and the like. They tell us in their Representation of the 14th of June, That our resuming the consideration of these things, as to their further satisfaction, does much unsatisfy their desires and proceedings so far; and therefore they then proceed further, and say, They desire full and equal satisfaction, not only for themselves, but for all the soldiery throughout the Kingdom, who have concurred, or will concur, with them; so engage all against the Parliament, and contract such a debt as hath broken the back of the Commonwealth, and now say they are not a mercenary Army to serve the arbitrary power of the State, but that they took up arms in judgement and conscience (notwithstanding they have received more Pay than all the Armies in the Kingdom, and yet lived most of Spoil and free Quarter) therefore they are resolved to assert and vindicate the power and rights of the Kingdom, and say, That what they do is short of the proceedings of other nations, to things of a higher nature than as yet they had pretended to, instancing in the *Netherlands* and *Scotland*. For the present they require, that the Houses be purged;—those who have appeared against them not to be theirs and the Kingdom's Judges; whose names, they say, they will speedily give in; they tell the Parliament what kind of men they will have preferred to power and trust in the Commonwealth; then (which was a crime some six weeks before, to move in Parliament and in a Parliamentary way, so as that sagacious Gentleman, Mr. Gurden, stood-up in a rage, and said it smelt of *Oxford*, and it was much decried by all the crew, but is now of publick merit, and very pious, coming from their Masters the Army) they will have a determinate period of time set to this Parliament, some provision to be made for the continuance of future Parliaments. And when his Majesty shall have given his concurrence to these and all other things that shall be proposed for the liberties of the People, the Militia, and peace of the Kingdom, then his Rights and those of his Posterity to be considered. They will have the Rights of the People cleared for freedom of Petitioning, and such as are imprisoned for pretended Misdemeanours to be speedily tried, and have reparations if they have suffered wrongfully;

wrongfully ; the power given to Committees, and deputy-Lieutenants, to be taken into consideration. The Kingdom to be publickly satisfied in point of Accounts, and after publick Justice done upon some of the excepted Persons, that there be an Act of Oblivion. Then they conclude that these things done, though there be many other particulars, yet (which certainly was merely out of their great goodness and grace, like that of the modest Spaniard with his *no quiero mas*) they will ask no more, but leave the rest to the wisdom and justice of the Parliament ; and this, they say, they find to be the concurrent sense of the People, by their Petitions presented to the General, wherein (as in all the rest) they play the arrant Impostors and Mountebanks, being as impudent, false, cunning, bloody, proud, and ambitious, as the Devil himself, their grand Master. They will have us believe the sense of the People joined with them, and that they petitioned for these things ; when their own fellow-Witches have since discovered how *Cromwell* himself drew those Petitions, sent them about into the Countries, had his Agents to promote them with mellifluous, enamouring, promises (as the expression is) so got some Independents to subscribe them, and perhaps some few more that they had cozened ; which served the turn, and made their wise General engage himself with them, saying, That what he wanted in expression of his devotion to their service, should be supplied in action, as Mr. John Lawmind informs in his *Putney* projects.

Yet call the Parliament a free Parliament.

111. The Parliament is now brought to a fine pass, made a notable free Parliament. But we must believe it to be so, because *Cromwell's* Army says it, and speed as well as our first Parents did in believing the Serpent, that told them that eating the Apple would make them as Gods, wise, and happy. The Army, on the other side, triumphs, drives-on, like *Jehu*, bears-down all before it, carries about the King as a Prisoner, to shew him, and make that use of him, which the *Philistines* would have done with the Ark, prevail against all opposition ; and truly that and their power together did make them prevail.

They charge eleven Members of the

112. Their next work is, charging eleven Persons, Members of the House of Commons, particularly by name,

name, but with general things; for they were not provided with particulars, as their friend *John Lawmind* says, who uses these words, “the particular matter of their charge was to seek, after they had in general charged them:” And another of their disciples, *Sirrah Nico*, says, That *Cromwell* confessed at *Co'ebrook*, “he had nothing against Sir *John Maynard*;” but yet he must be put-in amongst the rest, only because he was a busy man against him and his faction; so you see, these Thieves falling-out, some truth comes to light.

113. With this general charge, there comes another paper from his Excellency, and the army under his command, requiring that the Members, impeached, may be forthwith suspended from sitting in the House, and a month's pay to be immediately sent-down to the army for a present supply; and of these things to know the resolution by the next Thursday at the furthest, which was within two days. They require further; that the officers, who had deserted the army (as they called it, but, in truth, who had left them for their Rebellion, and engaged for *Ireland*) should have no more of their arrears paid them, till the army was first satisfied: And, to be sure that the Parliament should have none to defend them, They command them to raise no new forces within the Kingdom, nor invite, nor admit any from other parts. The reason, or, at least, the colour, for this was, because the Committee of Safety, (at such a time, as, in obedience to the Order of Parliament, they had endeavoured to have put the City in a condition to defend the Parliament and itself,) had considered of raising some force: but never any thing was put in execution, nor one man listed. And, though the Parliament and City did assure them, there was no proceeding in it, (which they might then very likely believe, and, in good manners, have acquiesced,) yet, such was either their fear, by reason of guilt, or their scorn of the Parliament, and petulance, to show how they slighted what they said or declared, that they would not believe them, but threap them down, that there was listing still, and quarrel with them about it. To such a height were they then grown, and the others to that tameness.

114. This passed about the 15th of June. The House

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took

And make many insolent and unjust requests to the Parliament. June 15, 1647.

With all which he took these things into consideration, obeyed in all, but Parliament complies, except that of suspending the above Members.

that concerning the Members; wherein they came to a resolution, "That upon such a general charge, they could not in Justice proceed against them, nor suspend them, and therefore, desire to know what they could charge them with in particular. They further considered how unhandsome it was, the King should be so hurried up and down with the army, and that, if he were at some of his own houses near *London*, application might be made to him jointly, by them and the Scottish Commissioners, in order to Peace; whereupon, though it was mightily opposed by the Independent Party, yet, they voted, his Majesty should be desired to come to his Manor-House, at *Richmond*."

The Parliament vote
that the King should
be at Richmond.
June 15, 1647.

The General sends a
Remonstrance to the
Parliament, June,
23, 1647.

And insist upon the
King's continuing
within the army's
quarters.

And pretends a great
regard for the King.

115. Here the Scholars had broken-out a little into rebellion against their School-masters, the Army; and soon they were lashed for it. For, on the 23d of *June*, comes a rattling lesson, a Remonstrance, from his Excellency, full of sharp and scoffing expressions, and ends with a lusty menace; tells them, The voting of the King to *Richmond*, is but in pursuance of the former design upon him at *Holmby*, and to put his Majesty within the reach of those men, who had already listed considerable numbers of horse and foot about *London*; therefore, wishes them, as they tender the welfare of the Kingdom, and the avoiding of jealousies, and other inconveniences in the army, to resume again the consideration of that business, and not propose any place for him nearer *London*, than they would have the Head-quarters of the army: then to ingratiate themselves with the King and his Party, and make him willing to stay with them (till their design was ripe, to dispose of him otherwise, as it was afterwards) they take notice of some scandalous information, (by the procurement, forsooth, of the eleven Members, and others of their Party,) as if his Majesty were kept a prisoner among them, which, they say, is most false, and contrary to their principles (as has appeared since, by what Sir *Thomas Fairfax* commanded to be done to the King in the Isle of *Wight*, upon his Majesty's answer to the four Bills, without order of Parliament, like a great Prince, *Ex mero motu & certâ scientiâ*, though it was afterwards approved of

of and justified, *Ex parte post*) but as yet they are harmless saints and good subjects, all for the King. Therefore, they take occasion to declare there, That they desire a just freedom for his Majesty, and those of his Party, and profess they do not see how there can be a firm Peace, without a due consideration of, and provision for, the rights of himself, his Royal Family, and late partakers. O, the Hypocrites, then with honey for him in their mouths, and war in their hearts !

116. For the expunging of the Declaration, they say, they acknowledge the justice of the House in it, but should rather have been satisfied with the Parliament's declaring how, and by whom, they had been misinformed and surprised ; and that it is an apparent dishonour to them to pass such a Declaration, and soon after, without alteration in the pretended ground and cause of it (for shame of the world,) to expunge it. I confess they say true in this ; but the old proverb is, "true jests are bitter jests."

They are not satisfied with Parliament expunging their former declaration against them. But would have had the Parliament discover the authors and promoters of that declaration.

117. Then, for the Members, they insist to have them forthwith suspended upon the general charge, saying, they would willingly proceed to particulars; if they might be encouraged, by the justice of the House, for suspending them, for what itself knows, as having been done there, which, they say, they cannot prove without breaking the privileges of Parliament: Therefore they advise a necessary expedient for the prevention of the like for the future, That, in the House of Commons, dissenting Members may enter their dissent, as they do in the House of Peers, with a Protestation: and they say, They offer these things from their good wishes to the privileges of Parliament, to render them more lasting, by being more innocent.

They insist upon having the eleven Members suspended the House.

And desire that, for the future, Protests may be entered in the House of Commons, as well as in the House of Lords.

118. Was ever Parliament so abused ? First, they must, because the army will have it so, give a judgement upon persons, before they know any fault committed by them ; only to encourage their accusers to tell the fault, for which that judgement is already given ; first punish, then enquire; *Hallifax-Law*, and *Army-Justice*. And this judgement to be no less than " an order of suspension from their seats in Parliament ;" whereby not only the parties themselves have a mark of ignominy put upon them, and are dispossessed of the execution of that trust, which their

Reflections upon this Remonstrance,

N. B.

country has reposed in them, but the places they serve for, Towns and Counties, are punished, deprived of their Representatives in Parliament, and consequently of their suffrages there, which they give by them. Then, what must this be for? even for what was done and said in the House (for so it is laid) contrary to all proceedings and privileges of Parliament, which will have no man questioned for that afterwards; upon this ground, That if he had done amiss, the House would, at that time, have checked it; and, they not finding fault then, for any other to do it, must needs reflect upon their wisdom and integrity, as if they approved of what was ill, or could not discern it. And, lastly, for my young Masters to jeer them with their good wishes, to have their privileges less innocent, and then dare to propound so great an alteration in the very fundamental Constitution of the House of Commons;—where the minor part is involved in the major, and both make but one intire agent in all they do;—where there is no particularising of persons, not any one Member, to be so much as named;—where all is acted as by one Man;—that which must bind the whole Kingdom, to be established by the united consent of it;—there to make such a rent and division as to introduce dissenting protestations, only to foment Faction and Parties, and by troubling the fountain, to corrupt all the streams,—is the most transcending presumption that ever was heard-of.

119. But that which, in my opinion, carried most of injustice in itself, and dishonour to the Parliament, was, the requiring them to discharge, and disperse those, who, upon their orders of invitation and encouragement, to engage for *Ireland*, had left the army, quitted the advantages they might have had, in joining that Rebellion, and wholly cast themselves upon the Parliament; as Sir *Robert Pye*'s men, Colonel *Graves*'s, Colonel *Butler*'s, Captain *Farmer*'s, Lieutenant-Colonel *Jackson*'s, the Captain, and many of the soldiers, of the Life-guard, and others quartered in *Kent* and *Surry*; the greater part of the two regiments, under Colonel *Herbert* and Colonel *Kempson*, quartered about *Worcester* and *Evesham*; these honest, gallant, faithful, stout men, both officers and soldiers, for their obedience to the Parliament, and zeal

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to the service in *Ireland*, must be abused and ruined ; the Parliament itself, made to eat its own words, break its faith, deceive them who trusted it, deliver them up, make them Anathemas : for what ? because the army says they are deserters, and raisers of a new war ; but, in truth, for complying with the Parliament's commands, refusing to join in a rebellion against them, and being willing to adventure their lives against the Rebels of *Ireland*.

120. Never was such a violence and scorn put upon a single person, or any society of men, much less a Parliament, to make it act its own shame and confusion, except by that *Italian*, who, to be revenged on his enemy, got him at advantage, bad him deny Jesus Christ, and acknowledge him his Saviour, or he should die presently ; which when the wretch had done, to save his life, he then stabs him to the heart, and says, Go thy ways, I am now revenged upon Body and Soul. So the Army threatened the Parliament, if all these things, fore-mentioned, were not done, (and likewise the poor Reformadoes put-out of the City, who had offered themselves, and were ready to run all dangers for theirs and the City's preservation) and done by the next Thursday night, that then they should be forced to take such a course extraordinary, as God should enable them and direct them to.

121. And, when the Parliament had done it (as they did, all but suspending their Members) had retracted that vote concerning the King's coming to *Richmond* (which the Lords did, first, at Mr. *Marshal's* earnest solicitation, as I have heard, who, at that time, could not have prevailed so with the House of Commons) prostituting their Honours, renouncing whatever would be of strength and safety to them, casting themselves down naked, helpless and hopeless, at the proud feet of their domineering Masters ; it is all to no purpose ; it does but encourage those merciless men to trample the more upon them, and, like the task-masters of *Egypt*, to double the tale of their bricks.

122. For this was a resolution taken, that nothing should satisfy, nay, not be accepted with a good look, a smile, whilst the eleven Members sat in the House ; while *Mordacai* stood in the gate, and bowed not, proud Haman

The Parliament retracts the vote concerning the King's coming to Richmond.
June 24, 1647.

But the army, nevertheless, proceeds to further insolencies to get rid of the eleven Members. June 26, 1647.

cannot be pleased ; therefore, he must die : The eleven Members must out. The House of Commons will not do it ; Mr. Joyce and his Agitators shall. For this, Sir Thomas Fairfax takes up his quarters at *Uxbridge* ; some of his forces advance within three or four miles of *Westminster* ; he sends his warrants for provisions into the very suburbs ; a party of horse is commanded to be ready at a rendezvous, to march-up to the Parliament ; then here is the case of the eleven Members ; If they stay, a violence shall be offered upon the House, the Members shall be pulled-out by the ears, and then, *Actum est de Parlamento* ; I may say, *de Parliamentis* : farewell this and all future Parliaments.

The eleven Members withdraw from Parliament of their own accord. June 26, 1647.

123. Those Gentlemen, therefore, think it best,—rather than that a breach should be made upon their occasion, and that, through their sides, the Parliament should be struck to the very heart, and die for ever,—to make it their own act to forbear the House. And, therefore, they told the House, they saw they were in that condition, they could neither protect them nor themselves ; that if, they would not do as *Achish* did to *David*, who bid him be gone, because the Princes of the Philistines loved him not ; yet, that they would, at their humble suit and desire, be pleased to give them leave to withdraw, and to such as desired it, grant Passes to go beyond Sea : which, at last, they did agree to ; though truly, I must say, unwillingly : but which, all said, they looked upon it as a good service done to the House, for preventing greater inconveniences.

They petition the House that the Army may be required to send-up the particulars of the charge against them. June 29, 1647.
Which the House accordingly does.

124. Upon this they forbore, and staid, I think, a week, or better, expecting, if the army would send in a particular charge against all, or any, of them ; which they not doing, but, instead of that, writing-up a letter to commend their modesty, the eleven Members then petitioned the House, that they would send to the Army to know what particulars they laid to their charge, and to prefix to them some convenient time to do it in ; which the House did, giving them about a week. And, one would have thought, a short day might have served. That accusing Members, in such a manner, with such a noise, as if they had been so criminous, that, (as Mr. Sollicitor said, by his beasts of prey, which were not to have any law given them, but be knocked in the

the head,) so they were not worthy of justice, nor of privilege of Parliament, nor of common humanity—much less to be used with some respect, like gentlemen, who had so long, and some of them, served their country so often in Parliament, and more faithfully than ever any of the army-party did, or will do, there, or any where else. But all bonds of duty and civil society must be broken-through, to come at their destruction. They must needs have known some notorious things by them, which might readily be produced. But it seems, they were not so provided; the particular matter of their charge was yet to seek; (as their fellow, Mr. John Lawmind, says) they were then hunting-out for articles, sending-about for witnesses to testify any thing, promise, bribe, threaten. But all would not do: several persons came to me, telling me how they had been sollicited to inform against me; one *Lewis* told me, they had been tampering with him; one *Westcomb* acquainted me, how one *Pain* had been sent-for by *Rushworth*, (his Excellency's excellent Secretary,) to the same purpose; who lodged him in his chamber, and gave him an angel the first time; that he went a second time, and this *Westcomb* with him, and then had a horse given him worth ten pounds, and the promise of some place in the army; for which, it is presumed, he did some acceptable service. It seems, these saints were hard put to it;—well, the first day passed, and no charge came-in; they desired longer time, and promised it should be ready by such a day; and, I think, the day after it did come: and, if I be not very partial to myself, (as in this, I believe I am not,) after all this travelling of the Mountains, out-comes, *ridiculus mus.*

125. I will not repeat all the particulars here. They are in print, and our answer to them; which, I hope, satisfies all men. Besides, another answer, we put into the House, more upon the formality of a legal plea: which, it seems, satisfied them; for they never proceeded further; nor did the Army prosecute. But the House ordered the Speaker to give us passes according to our desires.

126. I will but make this observation upon some of them: which is, “that they, and their party, acted those very things

But the army delay the matter, and are hard put to it to find materials for their charge. July 2, 1647.

However, at last, they do produce the charge, which is a very frivolous one. July 6, 1647.

The eleven Members give-in an answer to the charge against them. July 19, 1647.

Reflections upon the charge against the eleven Members.

which they laid to our charge ; and, what was false of us, was really true of them."

Particularly on the article of holding correspondence with the King's Party.

This article is more truly applicable to the Army.

127. One thing was, holding a correspondency with the King and his party : which of all men they ought not to have objected, doing what they did even at that very time. For, suppose it never so great a crime, it ill-becomes the Devil to find fault with the Collier for being black. They treat with his Majesty, have some of his servants present at their Councils of War, to debate and prepare things, frame proposals for settling the whole business of the Kingdom ; and, if their own writers, prophets of their own, tell true, capitulate for honours and preferments, *Cromwell* to have a blue Ribbon, be an Earl, his son to be of the bed-chamber to the Prince ; *Ireton*, some great officer in *Ireland*. Now, admit all true they said of us, was it to be compared to this? is it not a *Decimo sexto* to their folio, a mole-hill to their mountain ? And, I desire it may be taken notice of, that in all the charge, there is not a word of the Plot to fetch the King from *Holmby*, bring him to *London*, or put him at the head of the army, which they made the ground-work of all their villanies, pretending some of us, (in truth underhand, and in their pamphlets, naming me) to have had such an intention ; and, that what they did, was by way of prevention. Is it likely this would have been omitted, if there had been the least colour of truth for it? but Truth was what they ever least looked-after in all their speeches and actions, caring only to serve a turn, gain an advantage by cozening the world, and then cast-about, how to make it good by power, or amuse men with some new cheat, that the last might be forgotten.

Also on the article of acting in an arbitrary manner.

This article is more applicable to the army-party, or violent party in the Parliament.

128. They accuse us of infringing, and endeavouring to overthrow the Liberties and Rights of the Subject in arbitrary and oppressive ways, and by indirect and corrupt practices, to delay and obstruct justice. These are the words in their general charge. Now, I appeal to all men, and even to their own consciences, who say this, whether of the two, they or their party, or we in the House of Commons, upon all occasions, were for violence, oppression, and ruin, to destroy all that came before them, sequester estates, impose great fines, imprison, starve,

starve, sometimes take-away life, make men offenders for a word, take all advantages, wrest and strain up to the height of all their penal ordinances ; and who they were that had the hand in making all those penal ordinances, so severe for Sequestrations, so high for compositions, so ensnaring and bloody for making new treasons, and little things to be capital crimes ; that no man almost was safe, free from question, and few or none questioned, but sure to be destroyed. How many Ministers were pulled-out of their livings, for very small faults ? how many persons made delinquents, their estates torn in pieces, themselves, their wives and children, turned to beggary, and ready to starve for no great offences, or such at least for which they did not deserve so severe a punishment ? What Committees were set-up ? That of Haberdashers-Hall, to pill and poll men, put them to an oath as ill as that *ex officio*, to make them discover their estates, and expose themselves to their merciless carving-out a fifth and twentieth part, which was the undoing of many, even fetching-in some of the Members of the House to whom they had a displeasure, and generally all men who had crossed or opposed them in any thing : that of Goldsmiths Hall, to impose fines to the ruin of many of the best families of *England* : that of Sequestrations, where the very intention of the Houses was perverted, that Committee being first proposed and made only for great and notorious offenders, but afterwards it came to beworse than any Spanish Inquisition, few escaping that were ever questioned. I dare say Serjeant *Wild*, the chairman, and Mr. *Nicklis*, the lawyer, and some few more blood-hounds, who always attended there, hardly ever gave their votes for the freeing of any one person ; and then the delay there is worse than the condemnation, making suitors wait one, or even two years, and commonly be sequestered at last. The Committee of Examinations, where Mr. *Miles Corbet* kept his Justice-Seat, (which was worth something to his clerk, if not to him,) what a continual horse-fair it was ? even like dooms-day itself, to judge persons of all sorts and sexes.

129. Did not that faction put-on all these things ? did not we still oppose and hinder it all we could ? how earnestly, and how often, have we moved the putting-down those

Com-

Oppressive committees were set-up by the violent party : as that of Haberdashers-hall.

That of Goldsmiths-hall.

That of Sequestrations, of which Serjeant Wild was chairman.

That of examinations, of which Mr. Miles Corbet was Chairman.

The moderate party always opposed these severe proceedings.

Committees? that of Sequestration, that of Haberdashers Hall? Those in the counties, sometimes got orders of the House for that purpose, brought-in ordinances: and still, by some art or other of theirs, they were put-by, when it was thought in a manner settled, so as the Government might have returned to Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Grand Juries, and other ministers of Justice, in that subordination which the Law had established. Was any preserved and delivered out of his trouble, that we or some of us had not a hand in it? Were we not called the moderate party? branded with that title, (for they held it a crime), were we not said to favour malignants? when in truth we had respect to the Parliament, that it should not be made the instrument of those mens lusts, and contract that odium, which only could ruin it, and upon which this very party, being themselves the cause of it, took the advantage to master and subdue it, they in the beginning of their Rebellion, exclaiming against the Parliament for those things, (and therewith possessing the country,) which themselves and their faction made it do. Who but they drew all business into the Parliament, especially when themselves, or their friends, were any thing concerned? And had they not an art of delaying men, and making them attend, when they could not mischief them by dispatching the business? were any more violent in an arbitrary way of proceeding than they? nay, were any so but they? could a Mayor, or Officer, or a Burgess for Parliament be chosen almost in any town of *England*, but with their leaves, and according to their likings? And, on the other side, did not we press to have all things left to the law of the land, and to the ancient and ordinary course? yet they accuse us to be the troublers of *Israel*, and themselves would be thought to be the restorers, just as the wolf in the fable charged the Lamb with troubling the waters.

The article of embezzling and engrossing the publick treasure is also true only of the army-party, or violent party, in the parliament.

130. They charge us beside, with having a great power upon the treasure of the Kingdom, disposing of the publick Monies, enriching ourselves, and say, in many of their Declarations, that we would embroil the land in a new war, that we might not be called to an account for them. O, the impudence! They know that themselves only,

only, and their creatures, had power over the monies, and meddled in money-matters, well licking their fingers ; for they know they shared, and divided amongst themselves, all the fat of the land, the Treasure, the Offices, the King's Revenue, the Revenue of the Church, the Estates of so great a part of the nobility and gentry, whom they had made Delinquents ; and we, not one of us, had any thing to do in all this; Mr. Recorder, I think, only was of the Committee of the King's Revenue, but very seldom came thither. And did not they make use of the price in their hands? And did they not, like charitable persons, begin at home, give gifts and offices to all their own party, to some upon mere grace, as the thousands to Mr. *Blaxton*, a thousand pound to *Pury* (besides a good office) as much to Mr. *Hodges* of *Gloucestershire*, to Alderman *Pennington*, who had concealed three thousand pounds of Sir *John Pennington's*, which he had in his hands, for which, by their ordinance, he should have forfeited the treble, and, had he been a friend to the eleven Members, should not have been spared ; they did not only forgive him that, but gave him that three thousand pounds, and three thousand pounds more, which was upon the City's turning him out of their Militia, and presently made him be put in again. The Speaker had money given him, I know not how much ; 6,000*l.* at one time (as I remember) was made Master of the Rolls, Chancellor of the Dutchy, and, for a good while, Keeper ; Mr. Sollicitor was, besides his being Sollicitor, the King's Attorney, and about two years, one of the Lord-Keepers, got infinitely by the pardons upon compositions, (which was a device only to fill his coffers,) and had a thousand pounds given him at the expiration of his Commission for the Great-Seal. So had all his fellow-Commissioners, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Prideaux*, and Serjeant *Wild*, each their thousand pounds, besides the profits of the Seal ; Mr. *Prideaux* also made himself Post-master of *England*, being but the Chairman of a Sub-Committee to the Grand-Committee of grievances, where my Lord of *Warwick* and *Burlamachi* were contesting about the place, which was there represented as a publick grievance, though my Lord of *Warwick's* grant proved not to be

Some instances of
their profusion of
the public money
upon their own crea-
tures.

Mr. *Blaxton*.

Mr. *Pury*.

Mr. *Hodges*.

Alderman *Penning-
ton*.

Mr. *Lenthall*, the
Speaker.

Oliver St. John.

Mr. *Brown*.
Mr. *Prideaux*.
Serjeant *Wild*.

so; but this worthy gentleman being one of the Committee, and in the chair, who was to hear both, and report their cases to the Grand Committee, from whence it was to come to the House, finding it a convenient employment, worth some 24, or 2500*l. per Annum*, eased them of it, took it himself, and has kept it ever since. Mr. Serjeant *Wild* was trusted with some money by the Lady *Thornborough's* father for the use of his daughter; and took occasion, upon her going to *Oxford*, pretending she had got possession of his estate, to get a fair ordinance of both Houses, to have that money given to himself, but sure found some good law for it, as he did for hanging of Captain *Burley*; and being excellent at it, no question would find law to hang the eleven Members, were there a whole dozen of them, and me highest for writing this, which he would prove to be a greater treason than any in the Statute of the 25th of *Edward 3d*; and when I come within his power, I will forgive it him; let him hang as many, and get as much of the Commonwealth's money, as he can in the mean time. But I will say this for him, the Elders of *Jezreel*, that found a law to put *Naboth* to death, were but fools to him. Then how many of their small Prophets were preferred, that man of conscience Alderman *Hoil*, that worthy lawyer, Mr. *Nicklis*, Sir *William Allison*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Lenthal*, the Speaker's son, these two made six clerks; Mr. *Lisle*, Master of St. *Cross's*, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *White*, a Colonel that never was in the field with his regiment, Mr. *Allen* the Goldsmith; all of them, and I know not how many more, in places of great profit, some in the Courts of *Westminster*, others made Treasurers of their Armies, as *Allen* and *White*; the latter also made Clerk of the Assizes, in the Northern Circuit, worth 5 or 600*l. per Annum*. *Cromwell* has 2500*l. per Annum*; Sir *Peter Wentworth*, a gentleman's estate for half the value, settled likewise by ordinance, though the gentleman (whose delinquency was perhaps aggravated, because he would not sell him that land, which he had long desired, like *Naboth's Vineyard*) offered to pay the money to the State, as the fine for his composition, which by the rules of their own proceedings, could not in justice have been denied him.

Alderman *Hoil*.
Mr. *Nicklis*.
Sir *William Allison*.
Mr. *Love*.
Mr. *Lenthall*, the
Speaker's son.
Mr. *Lisle*.
Mr. *Miles Corbet*.
Col. *White*.
Mr. *Allen*.

Oliver Cromwell.
Sir *Peter Went-*
worth.

him. I remember we put by the ordinance two or three times; but, I hear, it is since past; which makes me mention it here.

131. To some for reparation of losses. So Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, who had some inferiour place in the Prince's household (which certainly he was not born to, the height of his ambition reaching no further in the beginning, than to be Sir *Henry Vane*'s man) was in recompence, set over the King's children, above my Lady of *Dorset*, and had the managing of their household, some three or four years; when they gave him the King's pastures in *Buckinghamshire* for twenty one years, worth to him *de claro*, some 15 or 1600*l. per Annum*. Sir *William Strickland*, for the burning of his house in *Yorkshire*, has a gentleman's estate in *Kent* of a good value. Mr. *Henry Herbert* had 3000*l.* given him out of my Lord of *Worcester*'s woods, and Sir *John Winter*'s. The Lord *Say*, in lieu of the Mastership of the Wards, which by his power, since the beginning of this Parliament, he had wrested from the Lord *Cottington*, had 10,000*l.* and for part of the money (I think 4000*l.* of it) had *Hanworth House*, with the Lands about it, which was worth, as they say, 14,000*l.* Colonel *Fleetwood* was, by way of Sequestration, put into the remembrancer's place of the Court of Wards, which his brother held, and, by going to *Oxford*, lost it; upon the putting-down of the Court he had 3000*l.* recompence: multitudes there are more of this kind.

132. To some for pretended arrears; as to Sir *Arthur Haslerig* 7000*l.* who had earned it well at the *Devizes* and *Cherrington*. To the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *William Brereton*, great sums. To Colonel *Thompson* 2000*l.* for his wooden leg; which nothing but a cannon could have helpt him to; for he would never come within musket-shot. To Colonel *Purefoy*, and his son Colonel *Boswell*, some 1500*l.* each; and so to many more.

133. To some to buy their voices, make them Prose-lytes. To Mr. *Weston*, son to the Earl of *Portland*, the reviving an arrear of a pension, which was his lady's, and, if I be not deceived, had been discontinued for many years:

Mr. Cornelius Holland.

Sir William Strickland.

Mr. Henry Herbert.

The Lord Say.

Col. Fleetwood.

Sir Arthur Haslerig.
The Lord Fairfax.
Sir William Constable.
Sir William Brereton.
Col. Thompson.

Col. Purefoy.
Col. Boswell.

Mr. Weston.
The

The Debentur, as I remember, was 4000*l.* To the Lord Lord Grey of Groby. *Grey of Groby* (who had before been zealous for my Lord *Essex*, as he had good reason for the respects he had received from him) a considerable sum, which I well remember not, to be paid him out of such discoveries of Delinquents estates, as he should make; whereupon he and his terriers were long attending the Committee of Examinations, in the prosecution still of some game or other, till his sum was made up. To Mr. *Scawen*, (one who, formerly, had not very well liked of their ways,) 2,000*l.* How many of the Lords, that could not be hear'd before, nor their Petitions scarce vouchsafed to be read, when they tacked-about and voted with them, were then presently considered, and good proportions were allowed them; nay, they were so impudent, that some of them would not stick to give it for a reason openly in the House, why they would not grant their desires, that they took notice, how they gave their votes: Mr. *Gourden* is the man I have hear'd say so several times. This was an excellent way, to make a free Parliament, for the members to be honest, and discharge their consciences.

134. Then for accounts; I would fain know what accounts they have passed: Let any man peruse my Lord *Fairfax's* and Sir *William Constable's*; I hear they are strange ones for the great sums they have fingered: And I am sure the Committee of Accounts did complain, that their Sub-Committees were beaten in *Staffordshire*, where Mr. *Purefoy* and Mr. *Boswell* should have acted, and would not.

135. Upon the whole matter, I would have our accusers say so much by one of us: I confess, I am sorry to discover this of them, it being much against my nature: but I am forced to it, for my vindication. I may say, with the Apostle, They have compelled me, and not only so to criminate, but even to glory a little in something. Have any of us ever refused to account, who were liable

Some instances of the upright and disinterested behaviour of the eleven members.
to it? Sir *William Lewis* did account for the moneys he received, being governor of *Portsmouth*, so fairly and satisfactorily, as that the Committee of Accounts made a special report of it to the House, to be (as they said) an example to others for his care, and just dealing in managing

naging the State's monies, which came to his hands. Major-General *Massey*, I am sure, was sollicitous to perfect his accounts, which, if or no he had done, before they drove him away, I know not. Sir *William Waller* and Colonel *Long* finished theirs. Sir *Philip Stapleton* never touched but his personal pay, yet did account, and had but forty shillings a day, being lieutenant-General of the Horse, under my Lord of *Essex*, who was Generalissimo, when Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, had five pounds for commanding the Horse under Sir *William Waller*, a place inferior to his, and had been at no charge, having lived still upon Sir *William Waller*, and gotten well all along the employment. Sir *William Waller* had his arrears after his subordinate officer; Sir *Arthur* had led the way, who broke the ice for his general, and all the rest. Sir *Philip Stapleton* had also his, a very small one for so eminent an officer, in regard his allowance was no greater; it came to about 1,700*l.* having left the benefit of his whole estate, during all the wars; which *Haslerig* did not, if his neighbours in *Leicestershire* say true, that his grounds have continued full-stocked all this while, better than ever they were before, so safe and well protected (as I have heard) that his neighbours, when there was danger, would send their cattle thither; I confess, I understand not the mystery.

136. Here is all concerning matters of accounts and arrears of the eleven members. The rest meddled not with any of the State's monies; some of them have refused to receive, what the House had given them, upon much juster grounds than all the pretences of the others that had so much. I myself for my sufferings, after the Parliament, *3d Car.* which continued many years, cost me some thousands of pounds, and prejudiced me more, had five thousand pounds given me by the House, for my reparation. I refused it, and said, I would not receive a penny, till the publick debts were paid. Let any of *them* say so much. I desire, whoever shall chance to read this, to pardon me this folly; I do not mean for not taking the money, but seeming to boast of it. I must again repeat the Apostle's words, "I am become a fool in glorying, but they have compelled me." It is true, I had paid for a fine imposed in the King's Bench, which I laid-down in ready money

The author refused to accept 5000*l.* offered him by the House of Commons, as a compensation for his former sufferings.

But accepted 1000 money out of my purse, a thousand marks: This, in the marks, which was time of these troubles, when my whole estate was kept the fine he had formerly paid in the from me in the West, that for three years, or thereabouts, King's Bench.

I received thence not one farthing, was re-imbursed to me.

137. Now I appeal to the world, whether our accusers, or we, the poor eleven members, so decryed, so oppressed, were the more guilty; who they were, that had gotten, cozened, oppressed, and were indeed the traitors. If he did not say, as truly as he did wittily, if they had not had more men than matter against us, they had been the traitors themselves, which many of their own Disciples have, upon the matter, confessed and published, saying, they were to seek for matter; only we were a beam in their eyes: And, their great Apostle, *Lilburn* himself says, "their great aim was but to pull-down those who stood in the way of their preferment."

138. Here is our crime; I will ask pardon of God for my failings, even in the performance of all these duties, where I served my country best; but not of the Parliament, from whence I desire no favour. Let them put upon me the severest disquisition, either concerning those things then charged, or the great Treason since committed, "of endeavouring to defend myself, the Parliament, and the City, from a rebellious, unjust, oppressing, Army, which, against all laws of God and Man, came to force us;" for which I stand voted to be impeached of Treason, and am outlawed the House; of which I shall treat presently.

The history is resumed from page 264, art. 126.

The Army absolutely governs the resolutions of the Parliament.

139. But, first, I shall shew the steps to it. The Army now did all; the Parliament was but a Cypher, and only cried Amen to what the Councils of War had determined. They make themselves an absolute third Estate, have Commissioners residing with them from the Parliament, and Agents from his Majesty, and abuse both sufficiently; and are as solemnly treated with as if they were no subjects, but a Body subordinate to neither, vested with an independent authority, claiming only from God and their Sword. The whole business of the Kingdom is there now agitated, and the engagement of the Army is the Standard by which all propositions must be measured. If any thing be offered by the Parliament which they like not, it is presently answered not to stand with their Solemn Engagement. Many meetings

meetings, there were great consultations and debates upon certain proposals for settling of a peace, and securing the rights and liberties of the people.

140. Notwithstanding this, while these things are in agitation, after all their affronting, baffling, forcing the Parliament, marching-up against it and the City, contrary to their orders, (by which they were not to come nearer than within forty miles of *London*,) they will have them own them for their army, undertake to provide for their maintenance, and immediately send-down a month's pay; and yet will not be subject to them in any thing. All this is done, Mr. *Marshal*, the Minister, being a principal instrument for them, who was still going and coming between *Westminster* and the head-quarters, or at the Parliament-doors, solliciting the Members of both Houses, persuading them, by all manner of arguments,—sometimes assurances, sometimes terrorifyings,—to agree to those things which the Army desired. And this he did, not in order to the setting-up of Presbytery, for which he had formerly been so zealous: for the Presbyters were not then trump, and he meant to win, and therefore, to put-out them, in order to take in better cards for his turn. Afterwards they send a message to the Parliament, requiring them to repeal the Ordinance for the Militia of *London*, (which had been settled, upon many and long debates, to stand for one whole year,) and to renew the former expired Ordinance for establishing the old Committee, which was the year before.

They insist upon the Parliament's repealing their Ordinance concerning the Militia of London. July 20, 1647.

141. It is but “ask and have,” with the Army: so that this is presently done. And truly, I think, it was a design of the Army, merely to provoke the City, and engage them to do something, to express a dislike, perhaps, fly-out, and give them an occasion to offer them some violence, if they should persist; or, if they should yield, after a little ill-favouredly shewing their teeth, then to put such things upon them, so yoke them, break their strength, and trample upon their liberties and privileges, that they should not be able afterwards, upon any occasion, to give them disturbance, and make opposition to whatever they should set on foot, though never so grievous and displeasing to the whole kingdom: for they did not think themselves secure, whilst the City stood unbroken.

Their view in making this strange demand.

142. Their plot took; the City was very much moved at this sudden Act of the Houses, in the altering their Mi-

The City are alarmed at the Parliament's having complied.

with the Army in
this affair.

litia, without so much as giving them notice to hear what they could say in a point so nearly concerning them. They look upon it as an infringement of their Charter (granted and confirmed to them by so many Kings successively, by which they were still to have the power of their own Militia), and as a shaking of the foundation of all their security for those vast sums of money they had lent, which depended only upon Ordinances: and the easy and sudden repealing of this, gave them cause to fear they might be served so in the rest.

And petition the Parliament to settle the Militia as it was before the late demand of the Army.

The Apprentices of London assemble in a tumultuous manner, and force the Parliament to yield to the City's desires.

And many of them compel the Houses to pass other votes disagreeable to the Army. July 26, 1647.

143. Whereupon at their Common-Council they agreed upon a Petition to the Houses, informing them of the distempers in the City, upon the change they had made, and beseeching them to re-establish it as it was before; which was presented by the Sheriffs, some of the Aldermen, and of the Members of the Common-Council, in a fair and submissive way. But the Parliament durst do nothing without the leave of their Masters, and only give them good words, and so hoped to slide over the business. Then some young men, apprentices and others, appeared, pressing hard, who would not be satisfied till it was done; which the Houses sticking-at, the young men insisting drew a great concourse of people, putting things into some heat; so that at last they prevailed, and the Militia was again settled according to their desire: upon which they went-away, returning to their houses. Only some of the younger and more unruly sort, remained; among whom some idle people and, perhaps, not well-affected soldiers and others, and (I have heard,) some of the Independents, even belonging to the army, thrust themselves and put the multitude, (disorderly enough before,) into great distempers, who then would make the Houses do this and the other thing,—vote the King's coming to London, the calling-in of the eleven Members, and I know not what else,—and would not suffer the Parliament-Men either of the one House or the other, to stir, till all was voted and passed which they desired; keeping them there, till, I think, nine of the clock at night; when the Common-Council, hearing of these disorders, sent down the Sheriffs of London, and some of the Aldermen to appease them: which they did. This was upon Monday

day, the 26th of July. The Houses adjourned themselves, the House of Peers to Friday, the Commons House to the next day. The City had, against the next day, which was Tuesday, taken order to prevent such further inconveniences, by unruly people assembling about Westminster; which, before, they could not well do, in regard, their Militia was unsettled, by the alteration that the new Ordinance, upon the Army's command, had made. And, as I heard, the City sent-down a message to the House of Commons, to assure them that they had done so: but, Mr. Speaker was so hasty to adjourn till the Friday, (perhaps, because he wished rather not to receive that message, which would have half-spoiled the Plot,) that he would scarce stay till it was a House; and, some of the factious crying to adjourn, he did so, though many cried-out against it, who could not be heard.

The City takes order to prevent any further tumults. July 27, 1647.

And send a message to the House of Commons to inform them of it; but find the House already adjourned.

144. By the Friday, the two Speakers, the Earl of Manchester of the Peers, and Mr. Lenthal of the Commons, (instead of giving their attendance, according to their duty, upon the Houses,) with eight Lords, and fifty-eight Commoners, had run down to the Army; and here, they enter into an engagement, bearing date the 1st of August, to live and die with the Army; upon retence of a force and violence that had been offered to the Parliament, but, in truth, by a conspiracy with the Army, designed and laid, principally, by Mr. Saint John the Sollicitor; as appears by a letter, sent from Rushworth, (Sir Thomas Fairfax's Secretary,) to the Speaker, with no name on it, but the latter part of it written with his own hand, advising him not to appear at the House on Friday morning, but to take counsel of Mr. Sollicitor, who would tell him what was fit to be done, assuring him the Army would all lie in the dirt, or protect them, who were their friends. This, as I remember, was the purport of the letter, yet remaining in one of the Houses: which, no doubt, came from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Mr. Cromwell, and the rest of those Governors, undertaking to for the army, and shews who was the man that must give the Orders, and direct what was to be done by the House, and then may well be supposed to be the author of all. The ground of this Engagement is made to be a Declaration of the Army's, shewing the reasons of their

The two Speakers and some other Members of both Houses throw themselves upon the protection of the Army. August 4, 1647.

This desertion of the Houses is owing to the contrivance of Mr. St. John.

advance towards *London*, as full of falsehood, as it is of malice, against the poor eleven Members, and, in truth intended only against them, who are, by it, said to be the cause of all that had been done in the City ; that, therefore, they were resolved to march-up to *London*, expecting that the well-affected people of the City, would either put us in safe custody, or deliver us up to them, stuffing up the whole Declaration with falsehoods and lies, as well in the narrative part, as in the comment upon it. They pretend, That, to carry-on our former evil designs, and preserve ourselves from the hand of Justice, we had endeavoured to cast the Kingdom into a new war ; and, to that end, had procured an under-hand listing of Reformation does, and continued a wicked and treasonable combination, which we caused several persons to enter into : That this could not be done in the time of the old Commissioners for the Militia, and, therefore, the new were made who, many of them, were very intimate with us, which was a just cause for the Army to have them changed again. That, thereupon, the tumult was abetted and fomented by us, to violate the Parliament, and force it into our hands which makes them require that we may be in that manner delivered-up ; and that all that was done in the House that day, or afterwards, till those fugitive Members should return again, may be declared null and void (so here the Army takes upon itself to declare what Votes shall stand good, what not; and this is for the honour and freedom of the Parliament, that which those worthy Patriots would live and die upon) ; And, besides, they say they were labouring after the settlement of the Kingdom, and had even brought it to perfection, the particular proposals being ready to be sent to the Parliament, for a final conclusion of all our troubles ; which conclusion of our troubles, in truth, nothing in the sight of Man could have hindered, but this cursed practice of violence upon the Parliament, which very thing, in them, was as cursed a High Treason as could be committed ;—a mercenary Army, raised by the Parliament ;—all of them, from the General (except what he may have in expectation after his father's death) to the meanest centinel, not able to make a thousand pounds a year in land ;—most of the Colonels

The substance of the
said Declaration.

Ionels and officers mean tradesmen, Brewers, Taylors, Goldsmiths, Shoemakers, and the like; a notable dung-hill, if one would rake into it, to find-out their several pedigrees: these to rebel against their Masters, put conditions upon them, upon the King, and the whole Kingdom; make their Will a Rule, that all the interests of King, Parliament, and Kingdom, must be squared by; which they are not ashamed to declare here to the world.

145. And this pious Declaration, do these worthy Lords and Commons receive with much approbation, and with much thankfulness to God in the first place, and, next under him, to the ever-faithful army; and, so became, like the Proselytes, which the Scribes and Pharisees made, twofold more the Children of Hell than themselves,—more criminous, and guilty of a greater Treason, as having broke a higher Trust, being themselves part of the Parliament which they deserted and betrayed; a wound given in the more noble and vital parts, tearing the bowels, and piercing to the very heart. Whereas, the army were but servants, outward and ministerial parts, so to be looked-upon, and so punished; slaves were crucified, but Citizens that betrayed were exterminated, they and their posterity, and the whole City turned into mourning, sensible of the loss of the body, when deprived of a principal Member.

This Declaration of
the Army is approved
by the fugitive Lords
and Commons.

Reflections on the
treachery of these
fugitive Members.

146. They should have remembered, that even at the time of the pretended force, which they would have men believe to have driven them away, the House lay under a greater force, and themselves were greater slaves to the lusts of the Army, which trampled upon their necks, made them more contemptible than the smallest Court of Guard, that had but a Corporal to command it, to eat their Words, their Declarations, Orders, Ordinances, break their Faith, betray and destroy all that served them faithfully, give thanks for being cudgelled and abused, pray and pay, and be glad it would be accepted. Should not every Member have been sensible of such violations and injuries done to the Body? But, some will say, it was as these men will have it, who were, like the sinful lusts in the soul, quiet and well-pleased, while the strong man, the devil, keeps the house: So they were

satisfied with all that was done, because it was according to their minds, conduced to their ends. If it be so, and that they will be slaves, let them be slaves still; for they deserve no better. The Army was the fittest place for them, as *Brutus* said of those he took prisoners, at the first battle of *Philippi*, "Let them go," says he, "they are greater Captives in their own camp, under *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, than here."

Of the difference between the sudden, tumultuary, force, put on the Parliament by the Apprentices of London, and the force put upon it by the Army.

147. They might likewise have considered, that the force upon the Parliament from the Army, as it was a greater, so it must have been a more horrid crime, of more dangerous consequence to the Kingdom, and more destructive to the being of Parliaments, than that from the Apprentices; which is, in my opinion, very clear. This, of the Apprentices, being a sudden tumultuary thing, of young idle people, without design, and without that obligation; indeed, but an effect of the other, both, as following their example, and also as occasioned by the just offence which they had given the City: whereas, the violent conduct of the Army was a formed, deep-laid, design of revenge upon those Members whom they called their enemies, and of domination over the Parliament and Kingdom, carried-on both with power and cunning, laying the foundation of a perpetual tyranny, by a company of hired servants, that had received more wages, ten-times, than their work deserved, and now betrayed the trust reposed in them, rising against their Masters, whose own swords they turned upon their breasts, to force them to do most dishonourable, unjust, infamous actions, and to deliver-up themselves and the Kingdom to their wills. So that, take the act of the Apprentices at the worst, it is *ex malis minimum*; and that of those fugitive Members, at the best, (that is, on the supposition, that they were really under a force, and under a fear,) they did, *vitare Charibdim, incidere in Scyllam*, and leap (as the old Proverb is) out of the frying-pan into the fire, wherein they were unfortunate. And well would it be for them, in the day of their accounts, if it were but a misfortune. But it is too apparent, to have been, in some of them, a prepensed malice and detestable combination.

148. As for what they lay to the eleven Members, with

with all the aggravations in that Declaration, I will not answer it as Mr. *Nathaniel Fines* did Mr. *Walker's* charge against him, by saying only “thou liest,” and quoting along the margin, “first, second, third, and fourth lie.” But this I will say to disprove it, affirming it upon the word of a gentleman, and the faith of an honest man (I think I may speak as much for the whole number) I was not in the City all the time those businesses were in agitation,—knew nothing of the Petitions nor actings in the Common-Council,—nothing of the City’s engagement,—never saw it till two or three days after it was printed,—had not the least thought of the Apprentices coming down to *Westminster*, nor notice of it till the very day at eleven of the clock, when they were already there. We had appointed, four days before, to meet each other that day at dinner at the Bell in *King-street*, there to even our reckonings, (because we had made a common purse for lawyers fees, and other charges, in preparing our answer for the House,) and then to take our leaves one of another, resolving to go several ways, some beyond Sea, some into the Country. As I was going into my coach (there was with me Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Major-General *Massey*, and Mr. *Long*) one brought us word of the hubbub at the House; whereupon we resolved not to go, and parted companies upon it: but presently Sir *William Lewis's* footman came to tell us, that his Master and Mr. *Nichols* were staying for us at the Bell; upon which Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, and myself (who were yet together) went thither; but, hearing more of the disorder about *Westminster-hall*, we would not stay so much as to make an end of our dinners, but presently came away. I mention this particular, because, I know they have made a great matter of that meeting, as if it was to be near hand, to receive information, and send instructions according to occasion; when we were as innocent of it, as any of those who cry-out most against us; nay more, if it be true, (what is so confidently reported, as I said before,) that there were Independents most busy amongst that unruly multitude.

The eleven members
had no hand in
exciting the tumult
of the Apprentices.

149. Here we have seen, what those worthy fugitive Members did at the Army, and upon what ground; and, besides, what little reason they had to go-away, upon the pretended force; which was a sudden thing, that was then

past, and care was taken that it should occur no more; and they themselves had been lying before under a greater force, namely, that of the Army, which they purposely now ran again into, to continue it the longer upon themselves and the Kingdom. Now let us see what in the mean time was doing at *London*.

The Houses meet
and chuse new
Speakers.
July 30, 1647.

150. The Houses met according to the adjournment, upon Friday the 30th of July; some six or seven score in the House of Commons, and as great a number of Lords in their House as of those who went to the Army. But all was mute, neither House having their Speaker; for whom they sent-about to seek, waiting till they had certain information, how they had disposed of themselves. Then they fell into consideration of what was to be done; and that measure offered itself, which, in truth, was obvious to every man's reason, namely, to choose other Speakers. For the Lords House there could be no question of their right to do so; it was every day's practice, their Speaker being but *pro tempore*, and changeable at pleasure; so they make choice of my Lord *Willoughby of Parham*. For the House of Commons, it lay not so above-ground; their Speaker being a settled officer, made with great formalities, and not so moveable at pleasure. But, "that he cannot be at all removed upon any occasion, not even for a misdemeanour (as it is not esteemed for a Speaker to be honest, or to be so powerful by his compliance with the major, or the more active, part of the House, to be borne-out in his knaveries, as some have the luck of it) or if he desert the House, (as Mr. *Lenthal* lately did,) or be disabled by sickness, or any other accident," I think no man will say. For then what Act of Continuance will be of avail to keep-up the Parliament, since it would depend upon the will of one man, or the uncertainty of his health, to frustrate all such provisions, and at any time to set a period to a Parliament?

151. Therefore they proceed to the choice of their Speaker, and pitch upon Mr. *Henry Pelham*; who, according to the custom, is presented at the Lords House Bar, brought-in by my Lord of *Pembroke*, in his robes, and there received.

152. They then go-on upon the business of the House, take into consideration the Letter spoken-of, sent by *Rushworth* to Mr. *Lenthal*, the late Speaker, which discovered the

the intention of the Army to march-up against the City ; whereupon they order a letter to be written to the General, signifying in what quietness they sat, and that therefore he should not advance his quarters any nearer.

They order the General not to advance nearer to London.

153. They afterwards order the eleven Members, to come and give their attendance, who were presently sent-for, and some others, that had been forced, by the Army, to forbear the House.

They order the eleven members, and some other members, to attend the House.

July 31, 1647.

154. For amongst other enormous proceedings of the Army, one was, upon pretence that some sat there, who had borne arms against the Parliament, or abetted the other side, they make the House enjoin some Gentlemen, to present a state of their case upon certain Votes then passed, which put an incapacity upon such as were comprehended in them, under a heavy penalty, if they forbore not the House of themselves, so compelling them either to accuse themselves against all rule of justice, and the very law of nature, undergoing the greatest hazard that could be ; for, if they failed in a title, (as very well one might in a thing done, three or four years before,) or that any knave would come and swear something against him, they underwent the penalty, or else to deprive themselvies of their rights, of sitting in the House, and so the town or county, which had chosen him, lose the service of their burgess or knight. Indeed this was a heinous villany : but they are guilty of so many that one drowns another.

155. They pass a vote, that the King may be humbly desired, to come to his own house at *Richmond*; that so the Houses of Parliament and the Commissioners of *Scotland*, might have access to him, to propose what was necessary for settling the Peace of the Kingdom, and himself be in a place of safety, out of the hands and power of the Army, whose fair shews towards him they had cause to suspect to be no other than the kisses of *Judas*, to betray and ruin both him and the Kingdom : and accordingly messengers were sent to attend him with it. But the Army frustrated all those endeavours.

And vote that the King be desired to come to Richmond.

156. Some other things were passed that day; and, lest the Parliament should be wanting to itself in doing what was possible for its own defence and the City's, in case the Army should not stop upon the receipt of their letter, the Committee

They also provide for the defence of the City.

mittee of Safety is revived, and ordered, as before, to join with the Militia, and provide for their protection. And all these steps were no more than were necessary on the occasion. For Sir Thomas Fairfax and his two Councils of War, the fugitive Members and the Officers of the Army, would not vouchsafe to read the Letter, but march-on, *Rabshekah*-like, threatening ruin and destruction. Yet was there no such thought towards them, our end being not *vim inferre*, but *repellere*, to get such a strength about us as might only defend, not offend. To that end those forces, which were quartered further off in Kent and Surrey, (as Sir Robert Pye's company, Colonel Graves's, and some others,) were commanded to draw near the City, not offering or intending any act of hostility; when, upon a sudden, the Sunday morning the 2d of August, a party of horse, about two regiments, (commanded, as I take it, by one Desborough, a Major,) fell into Deptford, where were some half a score of Sir Robert Pye's Soldiers, (who had staid behind the rest to discharge the quarters,) and most inhumanly and basely butchered those poor men, as many as they could light-of;—killing, besides, any that looked like a Soldier, whom they found upon the way,—some within a stone's cast of the works of Southwark. This, as it was a most barbarous and bloody murder (which will bring-down vengeance upon their heads soon or late, so that, though they should escape the hand of Justice here, the hand of God will certainly overtake them) so did it something awaken the City to see their own danger, and, a little, quicken their pace to draw the ordnance upon their works, and man them something better; but in truth, not much.

The City are but slow in preparing for their defence.

For, I may say, they were a people prepared for ruin and slavery; Gibbs and Fowks principally had bewitched them; and agents for the army, who were up and down, weakened men's hearts and hands, so as nothing was done to any purpose for putting them into a way of safety, or possibility of deliverance. All were desirous equally of Peace, but not all equally afraid of danger; those who feared it most, were the greatest cause of it; and some good, well-meaning, men of the assembly, Mr. Herbert Palmer and others, whom Mr. Marshal had wrought-upon, and persuaded to come to the Houses first, as being Ministers and Ambassadors of Peace, to per-

suade to Peace, and then to the Common-Council to do the like to them ; which did but dishearten and discourage those who were apt enough to fear, (being not so fully ready to resist a power that was coming upon them,) and did hinder the preparations. To say the truth, all was done that could be to hinder, and little to help. Insomuch that, at that very time, when the army was marching-up for their destruction, about 49,000l. (which had formerly been ordered to be sent-down for the army's drawing-off farther from the City,) could not be privily conveyed out of town by Sir John Wollaston, and some others, in which Mr. Scawen and Mr. Allen, Members of the House, had a principal hand ; which was as great a blow to Parliament and City as could be given ; for it served to keep the soldiers together, and unite them for marching up ; whereas, before, there were high discontents amongst them ; and it weakened us, even taking-away so much (as it were) of our blood, being that which, at that time, we principally stood in need of.

157. The Parliament did all that could be desired ; yet, still with a resolution to endeavour the ways of preventing extremities. Those Commissioners of theirs, who were at the army, had, in a manner, disavowed them : for never any thing came from them to the Houses ; and Mr. Skippon, when the City sent to him to come and take the conduct and management of their business, (a duty they might very well have expected from him,) was so far from performing it, that he absolutely refused, except he might have an assurance from the Parliament, and from them, to return again to the army, if he liked not his conditions : which was a great ingratitude to those who had deserved so well of him, and an unworthy compliance with those who had formerly neglected him.

158. A Message was resolved-upon to be sent to the Army, to see if they could be stopped from coming in that manner, to endanger putting all into blood ; Mr. Swifen and Mr. Ashurst, as I remember, were nominated ; the names of the rest I have forgot. The like was also prepared in the City, and more quickly executed ; upon Tuesday, Alderman Gibbs, Mr. Noel, and some other Aldermen and Common-Councilmen, were appointed to go with it.

The Parliament acts
resolutely, and yet
prudently.

They send a message
to the Army, to stop
their further ap-
proach towards Lon-
don.

And

But the Army insists upon the City's absolute submission.

And the City submits to them.

The Army marches to London. August 6, 1647.

Sir Thomas Fairfax restores the former Speakers to their places.

And they soon returned, not with an olive-branch, but with a heavy doom, to the honour of the City, freedom of the Parliament, and safety of the poor eleven Members, in the first place, and next, of all that had engaged in defence of the City. The keys of the City (if I misremember not) must be delivered to his Excellency;—all the works, from the *Thames*-side to *Islington*-fort, must be demolished;—the eleven Members secured, or given-up, and all the Reformado's, and Officers likewise, who were ready to have fought for them. This was as worthily, by the Common-Council, yielded to, their Ambassadors notably promoting it. The eleven Members were not, indeed, seised nor delivered-up, but, (which was as bad) they were left to shift for themselves, no care at all being taken for their preservation; though the City had now, this last time, wholly embarked in their trouble, and engaged them in their business, petitioning the House of Commons to enjoin them to attend the service of the House; the said Members themselves, not at all moving in, or desiring, it. Nay, they did not so much as provide for Major-general *Massey*, whom they had made their Commander in Chief; but, like *Issachar*, bowed under the burden, betrayed themselves, and all that had to do with them.

159. Here was an end of the Parliament; and, in truth, of the City, all whose glory is laid in the dust: and, as it was high before in reputation, both at home and abroad; so it is now become a hissing, and reproach to all that see it, or hear of it. The next day, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, sends to take possession, and, the day after that, marches in State, bringing with him those deserting Lords and Commons, and the Earl of *Monchester* and Mr. *Lenthal*, the two pretended Speakers; and not vouchsafing to look upon the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, who were there, with the Recorder, provided with a Speech for his entertainment, which he did not so well deserve, as they did that scorn then put upon them.

160. He goes straight to the Houses, puts those two men in the places of the two Speakers, though they had no more right to them than himself; and has ever since continued them by force, and keeping-out the true Speakers; which the Lord *Willoughby* is to the Peers (that House having been under an adjournment, and not sitting, when the Intruder came)

came-in, and so not in a capacity to admit him) and Mr. Pelham is to the Commons, having been legally chosen, when the House was free, and under no force ; the other having deserted, which is of all Crimes the greatest.

161. So, as without him, it is no House, but an assembly of men, acting under the Army, without lawful authority ; some of them, by a combination and agreement with the Army, but far the greater part by a terror, and an awe from it, and therefore to be looked-upon accordingly ; and, questionless, many of them continuing there out of a good intent, like so many *Hushais*, only to defeat the pernicious counsels of those *Achitophels*, who had designed the destruction of *David*, the ruin of honest men, and even the trouble and confusion of the whole *Israel* of God, Church and State. These are so far from deserving thereby, either to become the objects of blame or pardon, that they merit exceedingly, are worthy the praise both of present and future times; but ought to be considered rather as faithful patriots, (that act out of necessity in an extraordinary way, and stand in the gap to keep-off mischief,) than as Members of Parliament, able, or indeed qualified, to exercise any Parliamentary Power, for the good of the Kingdom ; the House having been disturbed, and for the time suppressed, by a real force, not a feigned and imaginary force, as the other was ; and, while force continues, not suffered to come-together ; but, as soon as it ceases, the Assembly will return of itself to be as it was before, a lawful and effective House of Commons.

162. For there is a difference between these two cases ; one, the Parliament's acting under a force, remaining still to be a Parliament, which does not annul it, nor the Acts it does ; but makes them fit to be repealed, yet, standing good, *pro tempore*.

163. Many of our best Laws have been so made (when armies have been on foot) and afterwards declared good in a free Parliament ; and so much, of what was then done, as did appear to be inconvenient and unjust, was, by subsequent Parliaments, repealed. So is it fit, that what was compelled to be done by the House, in compliance with the Apprentices and others, in that tumultuous way, the Monday that the force was upon them, should be repealed, as not fit to be continued. And so all that has
been

been done for a great while, under the power and force of the Army, since it first rebelled, and gave Laws to the Parliament, is as fit, if not more, to be hereafter repealed; and questionable will be so, if ever the Parliament comes to be free again. Nay, even these pretenders do us that right, as (finding the proceedings of the Parliament, after their des-
sertion, to be not suitable to their ends, but against them,) to make an Ordinance to repeal and declare them null; which otherwise would not have been needful, seeing they would fall of themselves, being crimes, in their own nature, as proceeding from an usurped authority. This is one case; the other is, when a force proceeds so far, and so high, as not to suffer a Parliament to be; but gives it such a wound, that, for the time, it cannot act, but must cease, even as a wounded body that lies in a trance, without sense or motion: But, when that force is over, and the spirits are re-collected, it returns to itself, to do the functions of life, and move and act as formerly. It is but like a parenthesis in a sentence, which remains still, one and the same, as if the parenthesis were not at all.

The General is thanked by the Speakers of both Houses.

164. But to return where I left. This General, (a settler-up and puller-down of Parliaments;) has a chair set for him in either House; where, first, in the Lord's House, and then in the Commons, those pretended Speakers make speeches to him, giving him thanks for all, approving his declaration of the reasons of his coming to *London*, desiring him to go-on, in taking care for the security of the Kingdom, and to appoint a guard for the Parliament. Than which, there was never any thing more base; but Mr. *Lenthal* exceeded, being both base and prophane, applying a *Higgaior Selah*, to this last act of his Excellency, who, as wisely took it. Then, that the profane-ness might be compleat, and God mocked, as well as men abused, they appoint the Thursday after, for a day of Thanksgiving, and fitted it with Preachers, Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Nye*, (*Simeon* and *Levi*,) where, they say, *Marshall* out-went all that had gone before him, and his Brother *Nye* was a modest Presbyterian, in comparison of him: but that Apostate, *Marshal*, went beyond *Ela*, making this deliverance a greater one than that from the Gun-powder-Treason,

And a Day of Thanksgiving is appointed for the restoration of the Parliament.

Treason, as I have been credibly informed by those that heard him. And, some few days after, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the whole Army marched in triumph with Lawrel in their hats, as Conquerors, through the subdued City of *London*, to shew it was at his mercy ; which was an airy vanity, I confess, above my understanding, and might have raised a spirit of Indignation, not so easily to have been laid. But a higher insolency of an Army composed of so mean people, and a more patient, humble, submission and bearing of a great and populous City, (but a little before so full of honour and greatness,) was, I think, never heard-of.

And the whole Army
marches in triumph
through the City.
Aug. 6, 1647.

165. And now the Houses fall to voting, the Lords leading the way, and out-doing the Commons, as much as Mr. *Lenthal* out-did the Earl of *Manchester* in the Thanksgiving, or Mr. *Marshall* did Mr. *Nye*, in the thanksgiving-Sermon. They make Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Generalissimo, Commander in Chief of all the forces in the Kingdom, and Constable of the Tower ; otherwise signifying Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, of whom Sir *Thomas* was the shadow. They thank his Excellency over-again for his care of the safety of the City and Parliament, (*Risum teneatis amici?*) leave it wholly to him to appoint what Guards he thinks fit for their security, (*Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*) give a month's pay for a gratuity to the Army, for their many good services, which is *præmium nequitæ* ; then set-up the Star-Chamber, the High-Commission, the Spanish Inquisition, in one Committee of ten Lords and twenty Commoners (read-over but their names, and you will swear it, except for four of the Commoners, who are very unequally yoked, sixteen against them) to sit in the Painted-Chamber *de die in diem*, to examine the business of the Mutiny, and of forcing the Houses.

The Houses pass
several votes in fa-
vour of the Army.

And make Sir Tho-
mas Fairfax Con-
stable of the Tower.

166. So far the Lords lead, and the Commons follow; but in another Vote the Lords go by themselves a good while “ that all things done by the Members, since (as they injuriously and falsely pretend) the Speakers, and other Members, were driven-away from the Parliament, be annulled, and of no effect, and be declared to have been so at

the

The House of Commons refused to annul the Votes past during the absence of the Speaker.

Aug. 17, 1646.

the making thereof." The Commons cannot agree to this, but put-off the debate to another time. Some sense of honour there was amongst them, and of the dangerous consequence of such a Vote, besides the unreasonableness and injustice, taking-away the authority by which those Votes were made, and so exposing to question and ruin, all such as were present at making them, or had acted by them. Many days debates were spent upon it: but it could not be carried; the House of Commons would be a House of Commons still. And, as they represent the people of *England*, so they would assert their Liberties, if they were left to themselves, and not over-awed by the power of the Army.

The Agitators here-upon present an Address to the General.

167. Therefore the Agitators must to work again, with an humble Address to his Excellency, and some proposals on behalf of the Kingdom and the Army: First, That all those that have sat at *Westminster*, usurping a parliamentary authority, since the forcible expulsion of the Parliament, may immediately be excluded the House. Secondly, That those Members who have adhered to that pretended Parliament, may be also excluded under a penalty, if they presume to it. Thirdly, That all former Votes against disaffected Members may be put in execution. And this is to make a free Parliament, for those rogues to determine who shall sit, who shall not, and how they shall be punished, who disobey them. Those Lords and Commoners deserve well of Parliament and Kingdom, that ran-away from the Parliament, and went to the Army for this.

Which is approved by the Council of Officers.

And a Remonstrance of the Army is accordingly presented to the Parliament.

Aug. 18, 1647.

168. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Council of War answer presently: for it is but a song of two parts, making one harmony, all set by the same hand. A Remonstrance is forthwith produced, and sent to both Houses the 18th of August, a sorrowful ditty for the poor House of Commons, which tells them plainly, after a long deduction of all passages, just lying over the same lies again, That those Members, which sat during the absence of the Speakers, are guilty of the prosecution and maintenance of the said treasonable engagement and violence; and, therefore, must not be their Judges (but their adverse Party shall be theirs, which is Army-Justice) That they might have been made Prisoners of War; where-

wherefore they protest and declare, if they hereafter intrude themselves to sit in Parliament, they can no longer suffer it, but will take some speedy effectual course, that both they and others guilty of the same practices, may be brought to condign punishment.

169. And they back this Remonstrance (for which the Lord is return a Letter of approbation, and great thanks to his Excellency, for his continued care of the honour and freedom of Parliament) with a party of a thousand horse, drawn-up to *Hyde-Park*; *Cromwell* and *Ireton* making menacing speeches in the House, and guards, out of the Army, besetting the doors and avenues. By all which means, and the terror of their surly, impeaching, looks (as some of the Pamphleteers observe it) many of the Members were driven-away, and the poor House forced, on the 20th of August, to pass the Ordinance for declaring all Votes, Orders, and Ordinances, made in one or both Houses, from July 26, till August 6, null and void. And now they are a free Parliament, or, (as *Haslerig* told them, the next day after the eleven Members were withdrawn,) a glorious Parliament! though, in truth, no Parliament. But they are what Mr. *Cromwell* will have them to be.

Which Remonstrance is accompanied with threats of violence.

170. Then they lay about them, impeach seven Lords of High-Treason, sparing only my Lord of *Pembrook*. They proceed against some of their own Members, suspend Mr. *Bainton*, put Commissary *Copley* and Mr. Recorder out of the House, whom they commit to the Tower for high Misdemeanours; expell likewise Sir *John Maynard*, and send him to the Tower. The rest of the eleven Members, upon the City's delivering up itself and the Parliament to the will of the Army, having sent for their passes, (which the House had ordered,) and, upon them, withdrawn themselves into foreign parts, the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen were likewise imprisoned in the Tower, and charged with Treason: And all honest men persecuted, threatened, and therefore fled and scattered, some one way, and some another; and these are the effects of a free Parliament.

The House of Commons, in obedience to the Army, proceeds to impeach and persecute several persons.

171. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Colonel *West*, an honest and gallant man, after he had been at charge to treat and entertain Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, coming to take

Sir Thomas Fairfax changes the Lieutenant of the Tower.
Aug. 9, 1647.

possession of his place as Constable, was, by that worth General, by way of thankfulness for his good entertainment, turned-out ; and an Independent, one *Tichburn*, Linen-draper, was put-in : Which was done with so much insolency and scorn of the City, that, when his favourit Alderman, *Gibbs*, had prepared a long-winded Speech i the name of the City, who craved it as a boon and act of Grace, that he would keep-in the old Lieutenant, he cut him off short, and bid him speak no more of it. Indeed it had been against his Instructions, and the Maxim of his Master *Cromwell*, and all that faction, which is to suffer none in any power, save such as are theirs, Body and Soul, and to put all others out.

172. So Colonel *Pointz* was seized-upon, and by force fetched out of his Command in the North; Major-General *Massey*, must not continue in his of the West; Captain *Patten* turned out of his Vice-Admiralship, and *Rainsborough* put-in ; Colonel *Carne* out of the Government of the Isle of *Wight*, and *Hammond* in his room. The self-denying ordinance was a trick for this purpose. In the beginning of these troubles Sir *William Lewis* no agreeing with their palate, being Governour of *Portsmouth*, they make the Earl of *Essex*, who was then General, send for him, upon a supposition that he was a favourer of Malignants, and of many other things ; which being examined by the Committee of Safety, he gave so good an account of himself, that the Committee could do less than write a Letter in his justification to the General, leaving it to him to repair him as he thought fit. Then some of these honest men, who themselves had subscribed to it, sent a Letter privately to my Lord of *Essex*, by which they advised his not sending him back to *Portsmouth*; which juggling of theirs he received with indignation, and wished Sir *William Lewis* to return to his command. But he, seeing what men he had to deal with, quitted the Employment; and, to say the truth, he only can be happy who has nothing to do with them, except to be in punishing them according to their demerits.

173. They have now (they think) both Houses to their minds, ready to do whatsoever they please. Accordingly the House of Commons orders those of the eleven Members,

The House of Commons summons the eleven Members to appear.

Contrary to the express desire of the City.

bers, who were beyond Sea upon their passes, which gave them liberty of travelling six months, to appear the 16th of October, taking no course to have them summoned, only notice to be given at their Houses, or places of their last abode, where few of us had any Servants, myself only an old Porter and a Maid or two.

174. Then they go-on to the publick business, to do such work as the Army had cut-out for them. Which were certain Proposals, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Council of War, had sent them the 1st of *August*, signed by *John Rushworth*, Secretary,* now far above *John Brown*, and *Henry Elsing*.* In these they set-down a new platform of Government, an *Utopia* of their own, take upon them to alter all, give Rules to all, cajole the King, claw with the people, cheat both, never intending good to either. The reading of the Articles themselves, which are in print, will satisfy every body ; they need no Comment, and are so many, and of so vast a comprehension, that to treat of them all, to shew the absurdities, contradictions, impossibilities, unreasonableness, which many of them contain, would swell this to too big a Volume. I will only speak to some few of them, and shew how they dissolve the whole frame of this Monarchy, taking a-sunder every part, pulling-out every pin, and new-making it.

First, The constitutions and proceedings of Parliaments ; projecting new things for their beginnings, continuances, and endings, for the elections of Members, privileges, and customs of the Houses; which they had violated before *de facto* : but now they must be altered *de jure*.

Secondly, The Militia of the Kingdom; where they will have a General appointed to command it, Pay settled to maintain it, a Council of State to superintend it : which signifies to establish by Act of Parliament this holy Army, the Council of War, and General *Cromwell*.

Then matters of the Church ; where they will have no power exercised to preserve Religion and Piety. They would have Bishops, so they may be merely Cyphers ; and all Acts of Parliament to be repealed, which hinder men from being Atheists or Independents; for nobody must be enjoynd to come to the Church. And there may be Meetings, to practice any thing of superstition and folly :

They take the proposals of the army into consideration.

* The Secretary of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General of the Army.

Remarks on the proposals.

* The Clerks of the two Houses of Parliament.

On that concerning the Parliament.

On that concerning the Militia.

On that concerning the Church.

The appointment of
Magistrates.

The Right of Peti-
tioning.

The Excise.

Tythes.

Law-proceedings:

and the Covenant must be laid-aside. In sum, it is to take away all Government, and set up Independency.

They propose a new way for making grand Jury-men, Justices of Peace, and Sheriffs. When these and many other things which they mention, are settled, (which will take-up time enough,) then the King, Queen, and Royal Issue are to be restored ; which is as much as just nothing.

Next they make the people believe they do as great matters for them. They will have a liberty of petitioning : which is but to make way for schismatical, seditious, Petitions ; for, if any Petition stick at their *Diana*, none so fierce to punish. Who, more than they, against all the Petitions from *London*, and the Counties, for disbanding of the Army, and complaining of their factious ways ? how eager were they against the Petitions promoted in the City in the beginning, for which *Benion* was fined, and many troubled ; and some Petitions out of *Kent*, for which some Gentlemen were committed ? How barbarously did they fall upon some poor women, who came one time to *Westminster*, petitioning for Peace, when they commanded a troop of horse to run-over them, and the Trained-Bands to shoot at them, whereby many were wounded, and some killed ? Yet, the world must think, that they will have it free for all to Petition.

Then they will have the Excise taken-off from some commodities, whereon the poor people live ; and a time limited for taking-off the whole : which was but to please and amuse them till they had got the mastery of those who, they thought, stood in their way. But, being masters themselves, they soon sent-out a Command, (more now than any Proclamation or Ordinance,) to forbid all soldiers, any way, to interrupt the levying of the Excise, or any other tax, charged by the Parliament, which they had made merely instrumental to poll the people, for the support of them and their Faction.

They will have no Tythes to be paid ; and so Ministers to be starved. For, in truth, they would have no Ministers at all, or rather no Ministry ; like *Julian the Apostate*, take away *Presbyterium*, not *Presbyteros* : for Ministers that will be subservient to them, like Mr. *Marshall*, shall be made much-of.

The rules and course of Law must be reduced. Indeed, they will need no Law ; for they will rule by the *Sword*.

Sword, and the Councils of War shall supply all Courts of Justice.

Prisoners for debt, if they have not where-with to pay, must be freed. So, we may be sure, few debts shall be satisfied : for it is an easy thing, so to convey or conceal an estate, that nothing visible will be left for doing right to Creditors.

None must be compelled to answer to questions, tending to the accusing themselves, or their nearest relations, in criminal causes. Witness their orders to make men, under great penalties, state their case, in no less matter than Treason. Therefore, this is understood to extend only to the privilege of their own Faction.

We must alter all Statutes and Customs of Corporations, and of imposing oaths, which may be construed to the molestation of religious people ; that is, Independents ; for all others are Greeks and Barbarians. Yet, these men, in how many Letters and Declarations, do they say, and protest, they have no thought of setting-up Independency, nor to meddle with any thing but what concerns the soldiery, and leave all the rest to the wisdom of the Parliament.

Indeed, they conclude their proposals with what concerns the soldiery : That provision may be made for payment of arrears to the Army, and the rest of the soldiers of the Kingdom, who have concurred with them in their late proceedings: and, in the next place, of the publick debts and damages of the Kingdom, which they have taken a course, that the Parliament shall never satisfy, having caused such a debt to the soldiers, and so insupportable a charge for the maintenance of the army, (which is to be satisfied, in the first place, before other debts, to the rest of the Kingdom,) that the Subject is not able to bear it, but is utterly ruined.

175. To some of these Heads, they say, they will offer some speedy particulars, in the nature of Rules, of good use to the publick : Rules indeed, from which, and from the Rulers, good Lord deliver us ! But here, you see, they compile a work, like the second part of *Solomon's*, treating from the Cedar in *Lebanon* to the *Hyssop* on the wall ; of all degrees and conditions, from the King that should be on the Throne, to the Beggar in Prison. And since they have brought both ends together ; so now we have a free Parliament, and a free Kingdom.

The difficulties the Army-party had to overcome to put their designs in execution.

176. Every day produces some effects of their tyranny and power; like another *Africk*, some monster: though they were not without their difficulties, to wrestle with and overcome. For to bring so absolute a bondage upon a people that was free before, could not be without many heats and colds. In the first place, they had the King to deal-with, whom they must, in some measure, satisfy and persuade, that they had good intentions towards him, to restore and maintain him in a power and dignity, suitable to his royal person and office; from which the truth and bottom of their design did differ *toto cælo*. Secondly, they had the King's party to treat with; whom they must entertain in hopes and expectation, and then cozen. Thirdly, they had the Parliament to manage; which must be kept-under, brought to obedience, and a total subservience to their will and command. Fourthly, they had the generality of the people to be also considered; who were for Government and Monarchy, founded upon Peace, (as they had reason,) and were desirous to be eased of their burdens and taxes; with hopes whereof the Army had fed them: but it stood not with their interest to procure it for them. And, lastly, they had their own Faction, to watch-over and direct; which troubled them most of all, they being violent, impatient, not to be gained to go the pace of their Grandees, and wait the revolutions of time, which the Grandees desired might have taken place, in order gradually to bring-about the same things, which those headstrong, furious, people wished-for, but with more ease, advantage and greatness, to themselves.

Cromwell and other great officers of the Army, shew great regard to the King.

177. For, they apprehend it very dangerous to fall presently upon his Majesty, and break with him, seeing the favourable inclinations of the people towards him, and that he is at liberty for all persons to have access unto him, whom he might confer-with, inform, and dispose, according to occasion; and perhaps, take some resolutions which, they apprehended, might turn to their prejudice. Besides, they knew not how the Scottish Nation might then declare and engage; which, (with the help of those, whom they had already discontented by their injustice and oppression, in the execution of their particular malice and revenge, and of those whom they should discontent, by frustrating their expectation, having born them in hand, with hopes of Peace, and freedom from Taxes,) must needs have given a great

great interruption to their proceedings, and even have haken the foundation of their whole design. Therefore, they must work in another way, make his Majesty believe they will do great things for him, so to receive rather an advantage, than hindrance, from his influence upon the affections of the Kingdom. To this end, were all those applications to him by *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the rest of their creatures and instruments, in framing of the proposals, appearing for his interest in the House, seeming to desire his restitution, being, now, turned absolute Couriers. They knew it would at last come all to one, with that which they have since done to him. For coming to a settlement, with his concurrence, they had the power, he had only *vanam imaginem*; and what of lustre and quietness would have been contributed by his Majesty's conjunction with them, would but have served to confirm and heighten their authority; all would have been but stilts to raise them above the rest of the Kingdom, and above himself likewise: so that it would have been in their power (as well we are sure it would have been in their will) to destroy him afterwards; and he would have only been a little longer reprieved, as *Ulysses* was by *Polyphemus*, to be devoured at last.

178. But the Party would not give way to this. Hatred to the King, Envy and jealousies against their aspiring Leaders, and a violent desire to have the work done at once, to lay all persons and things level on the sudden, and bring forth their monstrous conceptions, all at one birth, made them break-out, fly in the faces of their Leaders, discover many of their villanies, and (as appears by that business of *Lilburn* and *Wildman*,) even resolve to take *Cromwell* out of the way, and murder him for an Apostate.

But by this conduct,
they make the Army
jealous of them.

179. When *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the rest saw this, and that this madness of the inferior sort of their Disciples, (which had formerly raised and supported them, and lately given them the advantage of their enemies, victory over the Parliament, and a superiority over all the Kingdom,) would now be their ruin, if either they closed thoroughly with the King (for then their Party would forsake them, and turn against them; and they knew they had so well-merited of King and Kingdom, as not to expect to be preserved in greatness, either for honesty or abilities,)

Whereupon they
take new measures.

And contrive to get
the King to remove
from Hampton-
Court.

Their artifices to
bring this about.

They incense the
Army against him.

Then inform him of
his danger whilst in
the Army, and pre-
tend great concern
for him; and, to gain
confidence with him,
suppress a mutiny in
the Army, by put-
ting a man to death.
Nov. 1647.

Then send him a
letter to acquaint
him with his danger.

And advise him to go
to the Isle of Wight:
which he does.
Nov. 10, 1647.

ties,) or, if the King continued at liberty at *Hampton-Court*, or any other place, where freedom of resort might be to him, (and opportunities taken and improved to meet with and prevent all their attempts,) that then it would be impossible to carry-on their business in an open and declared way of violence against him. They saw a necessity of removing him, and making sure of his person; that done, they thought they might be bold to do and say what they would, and own, a second time, the actings and resolutions of the Agitators.

180. The difficulty was, how to bring this about;—to cozen the King, so as to make him act it himself, and fly into the cage. To carry him by force, they durst not; it would be unhandsome, it might be dangerous: They use this stratagem,—heighten and sharpen, underhand, the mad humour of their Party against him, to have it break-out in all manner of ways, in threatening Speeches, and Pamphlets; some consultations, that, whilst his Majesty lived in *England*, they could not be safe; meetings to consider, and come to some resolutions, of taking him out of the way: the Army is again discontented, the officers not obeyed, and all things tending to mutiny and some violent eruption. Then does Mr. *Cromwell*, and his Cabinet-Council, seem to be extremely sollicitous for the safety of his Majesty's person, and cause some discoveries to be given him of his danger; express great indignation and trouble in the House, in the Army, and other places, against these proceedings, and act their part so to the life, that the Life of a Man must go to make-up the disguise: an Agitator, (whom, with two more, they condemned at a Council of War) was shot to death; so that the King could not but have a great confidence in these men, and believe that they were really anxious for his preservation. At last, *Cromwell* writes a letter to *Whalley* (who commands the Guards about his Majesty's person) to be shewn his Majesty; and other informations are likewise brought him, to make him believe, that, if he escaped not presently, he will be murdered; and he is advised to go to the Isle of *Wight*, where they had, beforehand, provided him a jay-lor, Colonel *Hammond*, one for whom, they said, they could

could answer, that there his Majesty would be in safety, and they able to serve him.

181. Here they have the King safe enough, and now the Army is presently quiet, the Agitators as obedient as lambs, and Councils of War are set-up again to act as formerly. And Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with their advice, sets-out a Remonstrance to give satisfaction to the Army, which he concludes with a Protestation, to adhere to, conduct, live and die with the Army in the prosecution of some things there expressed; as namely, To obtain a present provision for constant Pay, stating of Accounts, security for Arrears, with an effectual and speedy course to raise Monies, a period to be set to this Parliament, provision for future Parliaments, the certainty of their meeting, sitting, and ending, the freedom and equality of Elections, and other things which he had the impudence and boldness to publish in print.

The General and
Council of Officers
publish a Remon-
strance for the satis-
faction of the Army.

182. And now, instead of the Proposals, they intend to send the four Bills to his Majesty to sign, which done, they would treat with him. By these Bills the Army was to be establish'd, which was the English of that for the Militia; and, by another of them, they would make sure that the countenance of the Parliament, and the acting of the Army, should never be separated: which was the intent of that for power of adjourning. So, that if, at any time, the just sense of indignation at so many indignities and injuries offered by the Army to all ranks of men, Magistrates, both supreme and subordinate, and people of all conditions and degrees, should stir them up to some endeavours of casting-off this iron Yoke; their party in Parliament, with their Speaker, Mr. *Lenthal*'s help, should presently be ready to adjourn to the Army, and then damn and destroy all the world by colour of Law and power of the Sword; so King and Kingdom must be subject to a perpetual slavery by Act of Parliament.

The Parliament
sends four Bills to
the King to sign.
Dec. 14, 1647.

183. The Scots were laid-aside in this Address to his Majesty, contrary to the Treaty, and contrary to the Covenant. By the Treaty, there ought to have been no application for peace, but with their advice and consent; here the Scots did not only not advise nor consent, but protested against it. By the Covenant all were bound to

This is done against
the inclination of the
Scots.

Dec. 27, 1647.

keep

keep united, firm and close one to another, not to suffer themselves to be divided. But here these men do divide from the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and make a rent and breach between the two Kingdoms in settling of the Peace, which was the very end both of Treaty and Covenant.

Dec. 15, 1647.

184. And as for that subterfuge, “that it is against the privilege of Parliament that any persons out of the Houses should interpose, or have any thing to do with Bills,” it is a mere cavil, fig-leaves which cover not their nakedness. For that would have been no more against Privilege, than was the whole transaction of business in carrying-on of the War, and managing other great concerns of Parliament and Kingdom, wherein the Scots all along were admitted to participate in counsel and Interest.

The King refuses to sign the bills, and is therefore closely confined by Col. Hammond.

185. The King, refusing to sign these Bills, *Hammond*, by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*’s single orders, claps him up a prisoner, and removes all his servants. It seems by this time they had forgot their Remonstrance of the 23d of June, where they say it is against their principles to imprison the King, and that there can be no peace without due consideration of his Majesty’s rights: But then was then, and now is now. It was then necessary for the good of their affairs to seem gracious, desirous of peace, and of restoring the King. Now they appear in their own colours, their nature having no restraint; nay, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*’s command is so absolute and sacred, that Captain *Burley* was hanged for endeavouring to oppose it, there being at that time no other pretence for his Majesty’s imprisonment, but because Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had commanded it: it is true, that upon his signification to the Houses of what he had done, it was approved-of and confirmed.

And Capt. Burley is hanged for endeavouring to set him at liberty. 24 Jan. 1647-8.

Further proceedings against the impeached Lords. Feb 2, 1647-8.

186. All this while a rigorous hand is continued against the impeached Lords who were under the Black Rod, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the Tower, who had been kept prisoners so many months, upon a general impeachment, and no particular charge against them. It was often endeavoured in the House to have passed the articles which were brought-in against the Lord *Willoughby*, to be a leading case to the rest. Where I cannot pass by, that I find he is charged with Treason for levying War against the King, and

and this done by the same persons that imprison the King, and had hanged *Burley* for levying War for him: one may see they will find matter to hang on all hands. Many debates were had on this business, and at last it was resolved to lay the articles aside.

187. The seven Lords still pressed for their trial, the House of Peers as often sent-down to the House of Commons to give them notice of it; and no charge coming-up, they set them at liberty. The Common-Council likewise petitions for the liberty of their members in the Tower; which the Army took so heinously, as that and the laying-aside of the Charge against the Lord *Willoughby*, together with a Vote which had passed for disbanding the supernumerary forces, produce a thundering Remonstrance of December the 7th, casting in the Parliament's teeth their delays and neglects: That the Army had with patience waited four months upon them: That finding such obstructions in matters of supply, and such unworthy requital, they apprehended God upbraids their care to preserve a people given-up to their own destruction: That they could, to speak Amen, with the power and advantages God had put into their hands (for so is their expression), have put the Army, and other forces engaged-with, into such a posture as to have assured themselves of pay, and made their opposers have followed them with offers of satisfaction: That now all business seems to be wrapt-up in one bare vote, That all supernumerary forces should be disbanded, which vote they say they cannot imagine to be absolute and sovereign: They offer, as their final advice, that 40,000*l.* more *per mensem* be added to the 60,000*l.* that is, in all, 100,000*l.* a-month. That, for the more sure and ready payment, the forces may be immediately assigned to several counties, out of whose taxes they shall be paid, and the General have power to make those distributions. And many things more they offer, or rather order, for the payment of the soldiers, so peremptorily, that, if it be not granted and passed effectually by the end of that present week, they say they can give no longer account of the Army in a regular way; but, if they find not satisfaction in their judgements, must take some extraordinary ways of power. Then they come

They are at last set
at liberty.

The Common Coun-
cil petition for the
liberty of their mem-
bers. May 28, 1648.

These proceedings
offend the Army, and
occasion a violent
Remonstrance from
them. Dec. 7, 1648.

and

and vent their malice against the City, of which they say they have been so tender ; witness their carriage in their late advance towards it, notwithstanding provocations, their innocent march through it, their patient waiting for their long due arrears. But now Justice forces them to desire, that (the adjacent Counties being undone, and the whole kingdom groaning under the oppressions of free quarter, whilst the City, which occasions all, is free of it,) there be no longer stop to the drawing thither of the Army ; that, besides levying the arrear of the tax, it make reparation to the parts adjacent of 100,000*l.* damage ; that, if they be necessitated, or called-on by the County, they must, on their behalf, demand of the City to the full ; they earnestly desire that the proceedings against the Citizens and others impeached may be hastened, and that, out of their fines and confiscations, some part of reparation be made to the country. Then they say, they see not how the Parliament can sit in safety if the Army never so little withdraw, when they find the Common-Council, through the Parliament and Army's lenity, take the boldness already, in the face of both, to intercede for the release and acquittal, or rather justification, of those impeached persons, who are but fellow-delinquents to most of that Council : That the consideration of this, and the renewed confidence of Mr. Gwin, and other Members, partakers in the same things, who presume to sit in the House, makes them fear, that, through lenity and moderation, so much of the same leaven is left behind, that even the worst of the eleven Members, (notwithstanding their double crimes,) may be again called for in, unless the house, by some exclusive resolutions and proceedings, do timely prevent the same.

Remarks on this Re-
monstrance.

188. Indeed these are gracious Princes, full of lenity and moderation, by their own sayings ; but they dwell by such ill neighbours, that they are forced to commend themselves; for nobody else will do it. The Parliament is beholden to them; they tell the members their faults, bid them not trust so much to their votes, which are not absolute nor sovereign ; let them know what it is their duty to do, and give them a short day to perform it in; lest they should be idle,

idle, and a worse thing fall upon them. The country is beholden to them, who now know the worst of it : 100,000*l.* to be monthly raised, to ease them of taxes and the excise according to promise : but then they have to help them, reparation from the city for former damages, and the persons appointed out of whose estates it must be paid by way of fine or confiscation, whether they prove guilty or no ; and they are not wanting in their expressions to the City of their tenderness of it, wherefore they give good instance, coming against it with Banners displayed, horse and foot armed, cannon loaden, and only take possession of their works, and of the Tower, change their Militia, take from them *Westminster* and *Southwark*, commit their Mayor and principal Aldermen to prison ;—yet doing the City no hurt; (like the Fryer in *Chaucer*, who would have but, of the capon, the liver, and, of a pig, the head, yet nothing for him should be dead,) then marching through it so innocently, only putting that scorn upon them which none of their Kings ever did, when most provoked ; that to have endured a plundering had been more honourable : then waited so patiently for their arrears, when they had a great part of the 200,000*l.* which the City had lent for their disbanding, had taken that money, yet would not disband ; and destroyed trade by their late rebellion ; and now, having so long lain upon free-quarter all-about, that they had made provisions excessive dear, and almost famished the City, to express a desire to come and quarter in it, which, sure, was for their good ; only Justice made them move that they should pay 100,000*l.* for reparation to the country ; that their best Members, greatest Aldermen, and others, and their Lord Mayor, (whom they had caused to be unjustly committed,) should be as unjustly fined and ruined ; and then charge so honourable a Court as the Common-Council with Treason.

189. Then, for the eleven members, how much they are beholden to them is beyond expression, all their Remonstrances, as well as this, make it appear ; here they desired only that they might have a Writ of ease from attending the Parliament any more, out of their abounding care for the freedom of Parliaments, and the free sitting and voting of the Members.

190. And

A part of the Army takes-up its quarters at White-Hall and the Mews.

The Commons renew their charge against the seven Lords and others.

The House of Commons expels the eleven members, though absent upon leave.
Sept. 7, 1647.

190. And they will be sure to have all put in execution, the refractory House of Commons shall make them wait no longer. A regiment or two of foot march and quarter in *White-Hall*; as many horse in the *Mews* (they having provided another lodging for the King, therefore making bold with his Majesty's house) and then they think they can take a course both with the Parliament and City; which in truth they do full handsomely.

191. For presently they make them resume the consideration of the charge against the Lord *Willoughby*, and pass it, and likewise against the rest of those Lords, and Sir *John Maynard*; carry it up to the House of Lords, and demand the recommitting of those Lords, and putting them to their answer. Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, the now worthy Governor of *Newcastle*, staid in town from going to take possession of his command, only to do this feat; so to make good what he before said, (when they could not, upon a long debate, and the laying-out of all their strength and power, carry the Impeachment,) "that it was no matter; the Army should impeach them all."

192. A little after the Lord *Grey of Groby* sets on foot the motion concerning those of the eleven Members who were beyond Sea, having had Passes to travel for six Months, and most of them having written, or sent, to the Speaker and other Gentlemen of the House, to desire the favour of a longer continuance, in regard it was winter, and ill crossing the Seas; but that, if it would not be granted, upon signification of their pleasure, they would immediately return. They had likewise (upon occasion of the Order of Summons) written of the uncertain report they had heard of such a thing, long after it was done;—that, if notice had been given them of it, they would not have failed to appear, and that they would still do so, if they might be certified that the House continued in the same resolution; so confident were they of their innocence, though they knew the malice of their enemies, and their violence and force upon the Parliament. But proceedings since have made it clear what Justice they should have found. For notwithstanding all this, those horse and foot were so powerful an argument against them, backing the Remonstrance for the exclusive resolution, that it was carried to expel them

them the House, and Impeachments were ordered to be brought-in. A parallel proceeding to this was never known in Parliament, where it has not been refused to any, especially who were beyond Sea, or, in truth, anywhere absent upon leave, to give a further day upon non-appearance on the first; and in our Case there was a great deal more reason, considering the season of the year, the occasion of our departure (then looked upon as a merit) and our readiness to obey upon the first Summons. All this writes but their Injustice, and our Oppression, in the more Capital Letters.

193. I am now coming to the Catastrophe of this Tragedy, the last and most horrid Act. The Parliament forced to do that, which is unnatural against the being of Parliament, the end for which it is called, which has *rationem formæ* in all moral things; that is, to declare they will make no farther address, or application, to the King, receive none from him, nor suffer it in others; which is, as if a limb should cut itself off from the body, and thereby deprive itself of life and nourishment: For the communication between the King and Parliament, is that which gives it being and life. It is called by the King, *ad colloquium habendum & tractatum cum proceribus Regni, &c.* They are the words of the Writ, which brings them together. Now there is *Colloquium & Tractatus* cut-off, which was the first unhappy breach between his Majesty and this Parliament, and which the Parliament found themselves grieved-at, that he had withdrawn himself from them, so as they could not repair unto him, for advice and counsel. And in all our Declarations and Messages in the beginning, until these people (who, it seems, had projected from the first, what they have now acted) got to the helm, and steered us into this violent, tempestuous course, that we neither see our Polar star, nor use our compass. We still desired, pressed, endeavoured his Majesty's return to his Parliament: But they say, he shall not return: the Regal Power they have assumed, they will keep it, and exercise it. They will no longer be fellow-Subjects with the rest of the Kingdom, but Lords and Masters. Those whom they represent, and whose substitutes they are, they will put unde their feet; as if an

The Parliament vote
that no further ad-
dresses be made to
the King.
Jan. 3, 1647-8.

Am-

Ambassador should renounce the Prince that sent him, and say he will make his own dignity real and original, which is but representative and derived, take-away the substance, and let the shadow remain. Certainly this is exceedingly against nature, and will turn all upside-down; yet this disorder must be made perpetual, put out of all possibility of recovery; like Death, from which there can be no returning. For admit the King would grant all that they have desired or can desire, give them all imaginable security for it; it is impossible it should be made known, and so cannot be received: and, by consequence, our Peace never can be settled; which is casting the Kingdom into a mortal disease, putting it past cure, past hope.

The Army publishes
a like declaration
against the King.
Jan. 11, 1747-8.

194. To shew by what magick this spirit is raised, you have his fellow-devil immediately called-up by a Council of War; a Declaration comes from his Excellency and the general Council of the Army from *Windsor*, bearing date the 9th of *January*, presented to the House the 11th by Sir *Hardress Waller*, wherein they give their approbation of the Votes, say the Parliament in that Address to the King, with the four Bills, could go no lower without denying that which God, in the issue of War, had borne such testimony unto: That they account that great business of a settlement to the Kingdom, and security to the publick interest thereof, by and with the King's concurrence, to be brought to so clear a trial, as that, upon the King's denial, they can see no further hopes of settlement and security that way; therefore upon the consideration of that denial, added to so many other such Votes as had been passed, that no further application should be made to him, &c. They do freely and unanimously declare, for themselves and the Army, that they are resolved firmly to adhere to, and stand by, the Parliament, in the things so voted, and in what shall be further necessary for the prosecution thereof, and for the settling and securing the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and against the King, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

195. And in this I believe them, being (I am confident) the only truth that has proceeded from them in all their

Declarations or Proposals, with relation to his Majesty. I would remember them, if 't were to any purpose, of some of their former professions, That it was against their principles to imprison the King,—that no Peace could be lasting without him,—and the like. But they can blow hot and cold, as the fellow in the Fable, to make all the Satyrs, and almost the Devil himself, abhor them, as afraid to be outdone by them in his own art, of lying and dissembling. Therefore, I shall not trouble myself any more with blazoning their Coat-Armour, which is made-up of nothing but false colours, and base metals : Their Impostures, Contradictions, Falsehoods, Hypocrisies, and damnable delusions, being beyond all heraldry, not to be tricked within the compass of any scutcheon.

196. I will only add one scene more of this last act, represented in the House of Commons. I do not hear that the House of Peers have had any part in it. But the Commons, like the Consistory of *Rome*, have spent much time since, in hunting out the premises, to infer the conclusion formerly agreed-upon, a Declaration—or rather rhetorical invective, to persuade men's affections, not convince their judgements,—of those enormities in the King, which should justly merit, and so justify the resolutions taken concerning him. The particulars are such, as, truly, I cannot name without horror ; *Auferat oblivio, si potest; si non, silentium tegat* : I would forget that ever such a thing was done by the Parliament. I will only say this of that Faction (for I look upon it merely as their act, and their Army's, who have forced the House to it, as they have to all the rest, since the breaking-out of their Rebellion, the owning them, paying them, voting their continuance, expelling, committing, impeaching their own Members, and the Lord-Mayor, and Aldermen, of the City of *London*, doing what not, for the encreasing their own shame, and setting-up their *Diana*, that Idol of confusion,) That, if they themselves believe that to be true, which they there relate, they are excellent good Patriots, and notable Justices, to see and not see faults, for their own advantage. For, if the King would have agreed to such Conditions as they proposed to him, and such a Settlement as had been suited to their ends, to have

The House of Commons publishes a Declaration against the King, containing a summary of all his crimes.

continued an Omnipotency in them, and ruined the rest of the Kingdom, these things had been all dispensed-with, sacrificed to their greatness, and the advancement of their *Dagon*; then nothing but *Hosannas* in praise of the King, would have been in their mouths; and no Peace would have been allowed to be lasting without due consideration of his Rights; far would it have been from them, to have a thought of imprisoning him; he would have been their good King, and they his, (and our) gracious Masters. But now, that his Majesty had discovered their aims, and would not contribute to them, he is an *Anathema*, guilty of such, and so many, crimes, as are not to be found scarce in any one person; and now these men of *Belial* can say, “he shall not reign over us.” For the things themselves, which they impute to him, I doubt not, but that there are those, who (knowing the *Arcana Imperii*,) will give satisfaction to the world, by a faithful and clear manifestation of his Majesty’s actions and counsels, relating to them. I, who stand below, and at a distance, as I cannot have the knowledge of such high things, so I will not presume to meddle with them: Only, upon the general, will say, that, methinks, in reason, those things cannot be as they represent them. For, to destroy the Protestants in *France*, (whose preservation must needs be, not only a contentment to the Soul of a Protestant King, but also a strength and advantage to his Interest,) were, surely, strange State-policy. And, as for the Rebellion of *Ireland*, to cut-off so great a Limb from himself, to pluck-off one of the three Flowers of his Crown, is, methinks, to be *Felo de se*. To speak nothing of that third charge concerning King *James*,—an act so monstrous, as not to be suspected in a Heathen, nor to be found in heathenish *Rome*; much less in a Christian country. Truly, I cannot, as a rational man, bring my judgement to admit of a belief of those things; and, then certainly, Charity obliges us to hope better, and to believe better, of any Man,—much more of a King, and of our own King; whom, *Solomon* tells us, we are not to curse, no, not in thought; much less, (which *Job* blames,) tell him, and tell the world, he is wicked and ungodly; and least of all, when there is not a clear and undeniable proof of it. And, even their expressions in their Declaration, are not positive; as if the subject-matter were only *allegatum*, not at all *probatum*, and rather

rather set-forth *ad captandum populum*, to gain, if possible, an approbation, from the vulgar, of what they had done, than that they conceived it would find credit with rational and judicious men, or that themselvesthought it to be a truth. As for the other things, as Knighthood, Ship-money, &c. any thing by which the Subject has been oppressed, and his purse picked;—they, of all men, should not find fault with the King on account of those oppressions, since in grievances of that kind, their little finger has been heavier than the loins of Monarchy. What was all that, in comparison of Free-quarter, Excise, and even the 100,000*l.* a month, which they say, they must have for the maintenance of the Army? those oppressions were but flea-bitings to these. At the worst, one may say, we were then chastised with Whips, but now with Scorpions.

197. And, so I hope, I have made good what I undertook in the beginning, having made it appear, that *England* is become, by the actings of these men, that Monster, whose shape is perverted, the head standing where the feet, and the feet where the head, should be;—mean men mounted aloft, and all that is, or should be, great, lacqueying it after them:—The authority of the Magistrate suppressed, and the will of particular persons made the Law of the Kingdom;—Justice obstructed, and violence established in the room of it;—King and Parliament trodden under foot, and an Army insulting over the Persons and Estates of the subject;—so that we may take-up the Psalmist's complaint, That the very Foundations are destroyed; and what then can the righteous do?

The conclusion of
the Whole.

198. I will conclude all with this short Epiphonema: If such a complicated Treason as this, which they have designed and carried-on all along, consisting of so many several parts, by betraying all the trusts that men can be capable of;—as Subjects to their King,—Servants to their Masters,—an Army to them that raised and paid them;—English-men to their country; and, which is more, Christians to their God;—bound-up yet in a more particular obligation by a Covenant, Vows, and Protestations;—all these relations thrown-aside; nothing of duty, conscience, or morality, permitted to stand in the way, that could either be removed or over-come, eluded or broken-through: If, I say, a Treason raised-up to this height, by so many several

steps of Hypocrisy, Treachery, Perfidiousness, Injustice, Violence, and Cruelty, can be made good, and the Actors prosper, blessing themselves in their success, sacrificing to their Nets and Gins, by which they have snared and destroyed all their opposers: And, on the other side, if no blessing must be on the good endeavours of those who only had proposed to themselves *Bonum publicum*, had nothing in particular in their eye, sought nothing for themselves, but to find their safety comprised and contained in the happiness and welfare of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom; like the honest Passengers, that seek their preservation in saving the Ship they sail in: (as I can speak it for a truth, take the God of Heaven for Witness, and defy all the men on Earth to disprove it) that I, for my part, (and I hope the same of those other persons of Honour, Members of both Houses, with whom I have co-operated, and now partake in their sufferings) never had any other end: Let the Earl of *Manchester* speak, who has been present at, and privy to, all our Consultations, and is now joined and engaged with the Army, and those other men, who carry-on this pernicious design, where, besides the universal desolation of the whole Kingdom, there is a particularity against me, for my ruin and destruction, and therefore I doubt not but he will say all he knows: Let Mr. *Reynolds*, of the House of Commons, who went a long time, and a great way, with us, but is since fallen-off, and become thoroughly theirs; the same I say of Colonel *Harvey*, who was long enough in our ears, and in our bosoms, to bottom all our thoughts, know all our desires. If these, or any other persons—even that malicious and treacherous Lord *Savil*,—can say, that, at any time, upon any occasion, I proposed any thing that looked towards a self-end, or the driving of any particular interest, or the setting-up of any Party, but merely to prevent these fearful precipices, into which the Kingdom is fallen, by the art and practices of these Enemies of Peace, and to attain such a settlement, that all honest, moderate Men, might have found in it both security and satisfaction: If they can, let them speak; and, if they prove one tittle, of their charge, I will put my mouth in the dust, I will bear my punishment, and expect mercy neither from God nor Man. Nay, even in relation to the Army, and those persons who have

have, for a long time, sought my ruin, if all I desired and aimed at in disbanding that schismatical, factious, Soldiery, in carrying-on the business of the House in opposition to that Party,—and even in this last great Treason, of levying War against King, Parliament, and Kingdom, (as they style it) which was only to do my best endeavour to defend them and myself from a rebellious Army, that was marching-up for all our destructions, contrary to the Orders of both Houses; against whom it, first, rebelled, instead of an obedient disbanding; then cudgelled them to own it for their Army, forced the City into a trouble, and shew of opposition to what it had made the Parliament do; then took that occasion to march both against it and the Parliament—If, notwithstanding all this, in what I did, I had any thought of personal revenge, or to do the least hurt to any particular person, in case we had prevailed, but only to return into the way, whence we were put-out, of a free, quiet, Parliamentary proceeding, to accomplish the great work of settling the Peace, both of Church and State, let me perish; and God, who is the searcher of hearts, knows I now speak nothing but truth,

199. Well then, I say, if all our endeavours must, like an untimely birth, come to nothing; our hope be cut-off, our persons destroyed; our integrity, innocency, fidelity, questioned and decryed; our good names traduced, and torn in sunder; our memories made to stink to all posterity, by the false calumnies of our malicious Enemies, and their power in suppressing truth; and, which is worst, (for all this is but particular) the general, the Publick, the Common-wealth,—once in so fair a way of recovery, at the eve of a happy day, to be rid of Armies, enjoy a Peace, hear no more of the Instruments of War, but see a blessed composure of all unhappy differences, and reap the fruits of Justice and Mercy;—and, upon a sudden, to find all this, but as the hungryman's dream, who is the more empty when he awakes; so, instead of this solid happiness, to embrace a Cloud, and have nothing but the empty promises of a false, deceitful, Army, and be cast-back into a greater gulf of misery, and confusion, than all the enemies in the

World could have brought it into ; and the latter end to be far worse than the beginning :

200. If this be our portion, were I a Heathen, I should say with *Brutus*, when he meant to kill himself, seeing the assertors of publick Liberty overcome and ruined, and the Invaders prevail and conquer, *O misera virtus ! eras igitur fabula, seu verba; ego te, ut rem, colebam & exercebam; tu autem fortunae surviebas.* But, being a Christian, I am taught another lesson, to know that nothing comes by chance. God, who does all things in number, weight, and measure, orders and disposes all as may most make for his own honour, and the good of his Church and Children ; to which, even the wickedness of the wicked, and these disorders, will conduce, though the wit of Man cannot fathom it. Therefore I will lay my hand upon my mouth, and not once whisper, because the Lord has done it; only take-up St. Paul's admiration, and with it end, crying-out, *O Altitudo ! O the depth of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God ! How unsearchable are his Judgements, and his Ways past finding-out !*

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P I N S.

RELATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS,
HISTORICAL AND POLITICK,
Upon the Parliament begun Anno Dom. 1640.

DIVIDED INTO TWO BOOKS :

- I. The Mystery of the Two Juntoes, Presbyterian and Independent ;
- II. The History of Independency, &c.

TOGETHER WITH
A N A P P E N D I X,
TOUCHING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDEPENDENT
FACTION OF SCOTLAND.

By CLEMENT WALKER, Esq.

Historici est, ne quid falsi audeat dicere ;
Ne quid veri non audeat.—POLYB.
Spe, metaque procùl —HORAT.

LONDON :
FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1648.

P R E F A C E.

THE Tract here reprinted, under the title of *The Mystery of the two Juntoes, Presbyterian and Independent*, is the first, or introductory, part of the work described in the foregoing page, which is a very copious account of the proceedings of the Independent party in the Long Parliament, (that began on the 3d day of November, 1640,) and of the Army of that Parliament, down to the end of the second Civil War, when that Army returned victorious to London, and, against the will of the Parliament, brought King Charles the First to a publick trial, for having made an unjust war against his people, and caused him to be put to death. It was written by *Clement Walker*, Esq. a gentleman of great learning and ability, and a zealous defender of the Presbyterian Party of that time, of which Mr. Denzil Holles, (afterwards Lord Holles,) and the other ten members of the House of Commons who, with him, were impeached by the Army in July, 1647, were eminent Leaders. And it was published (but without his name,) about the end of

the year 1648, and, as I conjecture, about the beginning of the month of December, when the Army was proceeding with violence against the King. The second part of this work of Mr. Walker, is intitled, *The History of Independency*, and is a very interesting relation of many important transactions in the course of that famous Civil War. But it is too long to be inserted in this volume of small tracts. And therefore I have here reprinted only the first part of Mr. Walker's work, which I conceive to be a proper accompaniment to the foregoing Memoirs of Lord Holles, which relate to the same subject, to wit, that of an exhibition, and, for the most part, a justification of the sentiments and conduct of the Presbyterian party in the course of that famous War.

FRANCIS MASERES.

Inner Temple,
Nov. 29, 1813.

TO

TO MY DREAD SOVEREIGN.

ROYAL SIR,

YOU have drunk deep in the Cup of Affliction, and we have all pledged you ; it is wholesome, though bitter : but let us pray to God to remove this Cup in time ; for the dregs and lees are poyson. You have learned, by over-winding the strings of Authority, how to tune the People of this Monarchy, without breaking their Patience hereafter. Most Princes desire unlimited power : which is a Sail too great for any Vessel of Mortality to bear. Though it be never so well Ballasted with Justice, Wisdome, Moderation, and Piety, yet one flarb, or other, will endanger the oversetting it. Those Commonwealths are most stable and pleasing, where the *State is so mixed* that every man (according to his degree and capacity) hath some interest therein to content him. *The KING, Sovereign Command and Power; The Nobility and Gentry, A derivative Authority and Magistracy, and all enjoy their Laws, Liberties, and properties.* God hath cursed him that removeth the Bound-marks of his neighbour. This is a comprehensive curse ; Kings enlarging their Prerogatives beyond their limits, are not excepted from it.

N. B.

You may be pleas'd to take heed therefore of two sorts of men, most likely to mis-lead you in this point. The first sort consists of *Ambitious Lawyers*, who teach the Law to speak, not what

N. B.

what the Legislators meant, but what you shall seem to desire. To avoyd this snare, suffer your Parliament to nominate three men for every Judge's place, out of which you may please to choose one, as in the pricking of Sheriffs. For it is the people that are obnoxious to their wickedness : you are above the reach of their malice.

The second sort is *Parasitical Divines* : These earwigs are alwaies hovering in Princes Courts, hanging in their ears. They take upon them to make Princes beholden to their violent wresting of the Text, to bestow upon them whatever Prerogative the Kings of *Juda* or *Israel* used or usurped ; as if the *Judicials* of *Moses* were appointed by God for all Commonwealths, all Kings : as a good Bishoprick, or Living, is fit for every Priest that can catch it. These men, having their best hopes of preferment from Princes, make Divinity to be but *Organon Politicum*, an Instrumen of Government, and harden the hearts of Princes, *Pharaoh*-like : and Kings delight to be tickled by such venerable, warrantable, flattery. Sir, you have more means to prefer them than to prefer other men ; therefore they apply themselves more to you than other men do. *Tu facis hunc Dominum ; te facit ille Deum.* The King makes the poor Priest a Lord ; and, rather than he will be behind with a King in courtesie, he will flatter him above the condition of a Mortal, and make him a God. Royal Sir, permit me to give you this Antidote against this poyson ; let an Act be past, *That all such Divines, as either by preaching, writing, or discoursing, shall advance your Prerogative and Power above the known Laws and Liberties of the Land, shall forfeit all his Ecclesiastical preferments, ipso*

N. B.

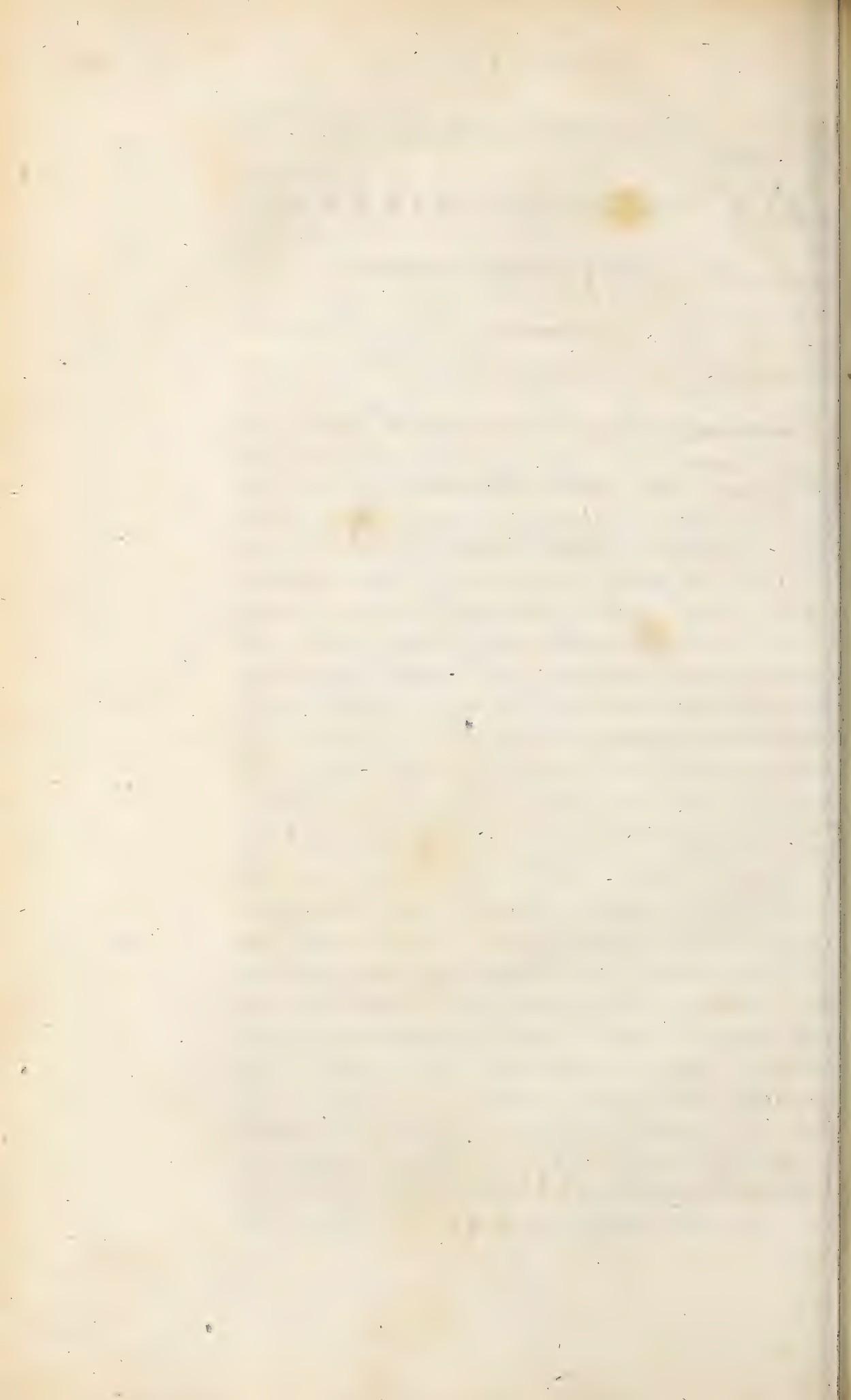
ipso facto, and be incapable ever after, and for ever banished your Court.

But, above all, learn to trust in your own Judgement: *Plus aliis de te, quam tu tibi, credere noli.* God hath enabled you to remember things past, to observe things present, and, by comparing them together, to conjecture things to come; which are the three parts of Wisdom that will much honour and advantage you.

God keep your Majesty; so prayes

Your humble Subject,

THEOPHILUS VERAX.



TO HIS EXCELLENCE
SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX,

And the Army under his Command.

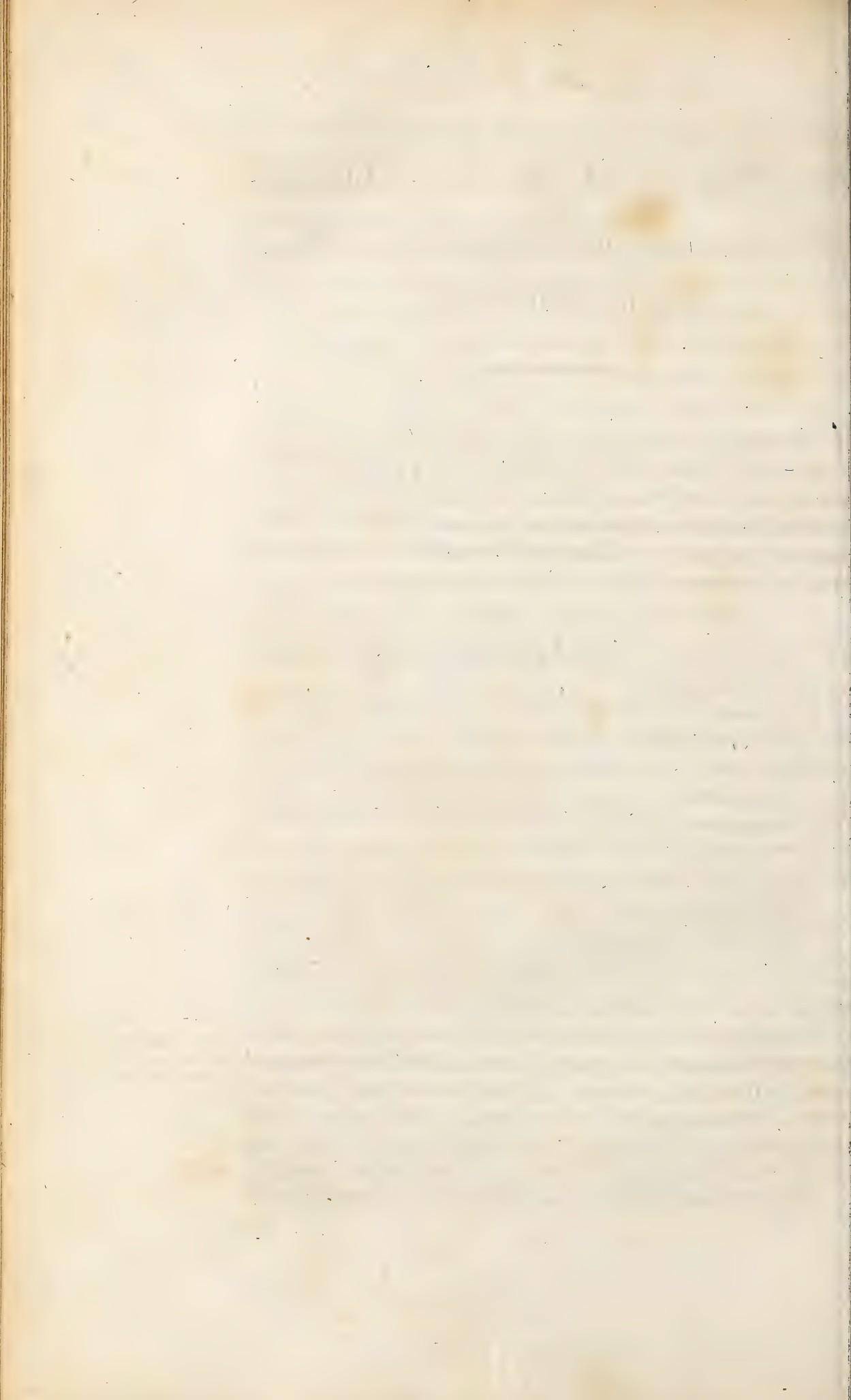
My Lord and Gentlemen;

I Have here, by way of *preparation*, laid-open to your view, those *Vlcers*, which you have undertaken to *cure*, viz. The Two *Factions in Parliament*, Authors of *Schisme* and *Divisions* in the two Houses; from whence there are derived to the whole Kingdom, (to *the obstructing of Justice*, and of the *establishment of our Laws, Rights, Liberties and Peace*;) *the enslaving of the Parliament itself*, and the *dilapidating of the publick Treasure*: whereby the whole Kingdom may be *enfranchised, secured, and united*; and *the King and his Posterity settled in his due rights*; which is the sum of all your undertakings in your many re-iterated Papers. I confess this to be an *Herculean labour*, and far beyond that which he underwent in cleansing the *Augæan Stable*. That was performed *by an arm of flesh*: This cannot be effected *without an extraordinary calling*: for *an ordinary calling thereto you have none*; and God seldom blesseth a man *out of his calling*. And, though an *heroick heat and zeal* may go far, yet it will tire many miles on *this side the work*, unless it be blown and inspired with *divine breath*. And, as *Alchemists say of the Philosopher's stone*, so I say of this work (which is

is the *Philosopher's stone* in our *English Politicks*) it cannot be effected but by a man of wonderful and unspotted Integrity and Innocency, free from all fraud, Self-seeking, and Partiality. In order to this great work you have already begun to sift and winnow the *House of Commons*, by charging 11 Presbyterian Grandees; who, if they be proved guilty, must needs have their counterpanes equally faulty, even to a syllable, in the opposite Junto of *Independents*. For, when two factions shall conspire to toss & keep-up the *Golden ball of Government, Profit & Preferment*, between them, neither can be innocent. Unless therefore you apply your corrosive to one *Ulcer* as well as to the other, you will never work a complete cure, nor will be free from scandal and appearance of faction, or design (that I may use your own words) to weaken only one party (under the notion of unjust or oppressive) that you may advance another more than your own. Besides, it is observed that you speak but coldly as to having the publick accounts of the kingdom stated; putting it off with a wish only, as if you did secretly fear, (what the Presbyterians openly say,) that the *Independents* are guilty of more Millions of the Publick Money than their party. Your own words are, *We could wish that the Kingdom might both be righted and publickly satisfied in point of Accounts for the vast sums that have been Levied; as also for many other things, &c. But we are loth to press any thing that may lengthen dispute.* Are so many Millions of Pounds to be cursorily passed-over without dispute? were they not the blood and tears of the exhausted people, and the milk of their Babes? are they not like *Achan's wedge* amongst us? would

would it not much ease the people of burthenes, and go far in the payment of souldiers and publick debts, to have both the King's and the Parliament's sponges (of what party and profession soever) squeezed into the common Treasury, whensoever the Common-wealth settles? Review this clause well; and, as the Parliament hath altered some Votes in order to satisfy you, so do you alter this clause in order to satisfy the people; who long, not only to see the Kingdom, but also our new-made gentlemen, *in statu quo prius*. Gentlemen, you that will give Counsel, will, I hope, also take it, without offence against him that dares lay as good a claim to justice and honesty as yourselves.

THEODORUS VERAX.



The Mysterie of the Two Juntoes,
Presbyterian and Independent, with
 some Additions.

THE Kingdom being overgrown with *Prerogative, Corruption and Superstition*, (the fruits of a long and lazie peace) by a long discontinuance of Parliaments ; at last, by Providence, His Majesty was necessitated to call a Parliament, the only fit College of Physicians to purge the much-distempered Body of the Commonwealth.

In this Parliament a contest between the *King's Prerogative and the people's Laws and Liberties* begat a War. The Divines on both sides, out of their Pulpits, sounding an Alarum thereto; and not only Sermons, but *Declarations of Parliament and the National Covenant*, holding-forth to the people the defence of their Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties; inflamed the people to the rage of battel ; as the Elephant is enraged at the sight of Red. This War occasioned extraordinary Taxes and Levies of money ; such as were never heard-of by our Ancestors, and were *Irritamenta malorum*, the nurse of our corruptions.

This incentive, working upon the human frailty of the speaking and leading Members of the Houses, caused them, first, to interweave their particular interests and ambitions with the publick welfare, and, lastly, to prefer them before the publick welfare.

Wherefore the said *leading men, or Grandees*, (for that is now the Parliament-language), first divided themselves into *two factions, or Juntoes, of Presbyterians and Independents*; seeming to look only upon the Church, but (Religion having the strongest operation upon the spirit of man) involving also the interests of the Commonwealth.

The common people of the two Houses, following (with an

Grandees of the
Houses of Parliament.

Two Factions, or
Juntoes, of Presby-
terians and Indepen-
dents.

an implicite faith and blind obedience) the example of their leaders, divided themselves also into the said Dicotomy: which they did with more seriousness than their leaders, as not perceiving any thing of design therein; but, according to the diversity of their Judgements, or, rather, Fancies and Confidings (for “to resign a man’s judgement to the opinion of another man” is but a silly trust and confidence) studied the upholding of their parties with earnestness; whilst the *Granaees* of each party, in private, closed together for their own advancement, serving one another’s turn.

The *Grandees* (in all publick debates) seem as real in their reciprocal oppositions, as those silly ones who are in earnest; whereby they cherish the zeal of their respective parties, keep them still divided (*Divide & impera* is the Devil’s rule) and so amuse them, and take them off from looking after other interests, in which, were they conjoined, they might share with the *Grandees* themselves. And for the better contentment of such their Confidants, as looking too intentively after their own gain, the *Grandees* of each *Junto* confer something of advantage upon those that are subservient unto them, as five pounds a week, or some petty employment.

Monopolizing profits and preferments.

The seeds of these factions spread themselves into the Commonwealth and Armies, as Rheum distills from the head into all the body.

Thus the leading men, or Bell-weathers, having seemingly divided themselves, and having really divided the houses, and captivated the judgements of their respective partisans (teaching them, by an implicite faith, *Jura in verba Magistri*, to pin their opinions upon their sleeves,) they begin to advance their projects of Monopolizing the Profits, Preferments and Power of the Kingdom, in themselves. To which purpose, though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet, when any profit, or preferment, is to be reached at, it is observed that a powerful Independent especially moves for a Presbyterian, or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent; and seldom doth one oppose, or speak against, another in such cases, unless something

something of particular Spleen or Competition come between, which causeth them to break the common Rule. By this means the *Grandees* of each faction seldom miss their mark ; since, an Independent moving for a presbyterian, his reputation carries the business clear with the Independent party ; and the Presbyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side. By this artifice the *Grandees* of each side share the Common-wealth between them ; and are now become proud, domineering, *Rehoboams*, even over their fellow-members, (contrary to the liberty of Parliament, which consists in an equality) that were formerly fawning, ambitious, *Absaloms*.

There hath been lately given-away to Members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheats mutually connived-at) at least 300,000l. in money, besides rich Offices, Implyments in money-Committees, Sequestrations, and other advantages. And those Members who have so well served themselves, under colour of serving the publick, are, for the most part, old Canvassers of Factions, who have sat idly and safely in the House, watching their advantages to confound businesses, and shuffle the cards to make their own game ; when others, that have ventured their persons abroad, labour'd in the publick work, like *Israelites* under these *Ægyptian* task-masters, and lost their estates, are left to starve untill they can find relief in that empty bag called by fools *fides publica*, but by wise men *fides Punicæ*, and are now looked-upon in the House superciliously, like unwelcome guests, (for it is known how malignantly, and how jugglingly, Writs for new Elections were granted and executed,) and are called *younger brothers*; and, like younger brothers they are used, their elder brothers having slipped into the world before them, and anticipated the inheritance. They have broken first into the common field, and shut the door to prevent after-comers even from gleaning after their full harvest ; for the better effecting hereof, they have now mortgaged, in effect, all the means they have to raise money, unto the City. And, being fat and full with the publick treasure, to expresse rather theirs scorn than their care of these after-comers, they are making an Ordinance that no more money shall be given to their Members.

And

And yet, to shew how careful they are of all such as have *cheated* the Commonwealth under them, (I will not say *for them*,) they have taken advantage of the Petition of the Army, wherein they desire Indemnity for all acts done in Relation to the war, and have passed an Ordinance of Indemnity for all such as have acted by *Authority*, and *for the service*, of the Parliament: wherein, under great penalties, and with an appeal at last from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament, such as have gone beyond the authority given by Parliament, and have sequestered men's estates unjustly, and so withheld their goods under pretence thereof; and such as have levied Taxes three or four times over; are exempted from being sued for such injuries by private actions; and so the benefit of Law and Justice is taken from the oppressed, to secure *Country-Committees*, *Sequestrators*, and others (not *Prerogative*, but *Legislative*) *Thieves*; contrary to *Magna Charta*, which says, *nulli negabimus, nulli differemus, justitiam, aut rectum*; We will not deny, nor defer justice and right to any man. Oh, prodigious acts, and of greater Tyranny than any King ever durst adventure upon! What is become of our National Covenant, and the Parliament's many Declarations for defence of Laws and Liberty? Or have we fought our Liberty into Slavery? By these devices the *honest middle men* of the House (whose consciences will not let them joyn in any faction to rend the Commonwealth in sunder) are out of a possibility of repair, and are made contemptible, as well by their own wants, as by the pride of the *Grandeis*; and in the end, their poverty will enforce them to leave the sole possession of the House to these *thriving Junto-men*; who do beleaguer them therein, making them (for farther addition to their losses) pay all taxes, from which the thriving men go free: so that the poorer part of the House pays tribute to the richer. Nay, it is farther whispered, that at last the *Junto-men* will quit the Parliament-Privilege of not being sued, purposely to leave these younger Brothers to the mercy of their creditors, and disable them to sit in their House.

Committees of the
Houses.

Another ambitious aim of those *Junto-men* is, their devise of referring all businesses of moment to Committees.

* For the active, speaking, men, by mutual agreement,
naming

naming one another of every Committee (or at least their confident Ministers) do thereby *forestall and intercept* the businesses of the House, and, under colour of examining and preparing matters, they report them to the House with what glosses, additions, detractions, and advantages they please ; whereby the House (judging according to their report) oftentimes mis-judgeth, and if it be a businesse they are willing to smother, the Committees have infinite artificial delays, to put it off, and keep it from a hearing, or at least from a reporting. By this means the remaining part of the House are but Cyphers in value, and Suffragans to ratifie what is forejudged by the said Committees. This usurpation of theirs is much helped by keeping the doors of their Committee-rooms shut, and dispatching all affairs privately and in the dark ; whereas Justice delights in the light, and ought to be as publick as the common air, it being against its nature to be Chambered-up, and kept from the observation of eye, and ear-witnesses.

And by their examining of men against themselves, contrary to *Magna Charta*, they much enlarge their power.

Parts of this project we may well call the *Multiplicity Money-Committees of money-Committees*, as Goldsmiths-hall, Haberdashers-hall, the Committee of the King's revenues, Committee of the Army, &c. Where every man's profit and power is according to his cunning and conscience. Hereby they draw a general dependency after them : for, he that commands the money, commands the men. These Committee-men are so powerfull that they over-awe and over-power their fellow-members, contrary to the nature of a free-Parliament ; wherein the equality of the members must maintain the freedom and integrity thereof, and suppress factions.

The like may be said of such *Members as (in scorn of the self-denying Ordinance) hold Offices by gift or connivance of the Parliament*, either openly in their own name, or secretly in the name of some friend : their offices enabling them to do courtesies and discourtesies. And, although there hath been a Committee appointed to certificate all pensions, sequestrations, offices, and employments of Members holding Offices, &c.

advantage and profit, conferred by the Parliament upon any of their Members, in which Committee Mr. *Sands* holdeth the chair : yet is this meerly a formality to blind the eyes of the World, and fool the expectation of some losing Members, who were then resolute to know who had already received satisfaction for their losses, and how far they had out-run their fellow-Members therein. Yet this Committee is now let fall, no reports demanded of Mr. *Sands* ; and, when any is to be made, they are not unprovided of a means to make it fruitless, by putting every particular to debate ; well-knowing, that no man will be willing to argue against the particular persons and merits of his fellow-Members, and thereby heap envy upon his own head, besides the delay of a particular debate.

Country-Committees.

How frequently the *Country-Committees* act contrary to the laws of the land ; how they trample *Magna Charta* under their feet ; how boldly and avowedly they transgress all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament, and break our Solemn League and Covenant ; how they ordinarily turn well-affected men out of their freeholds and goods, imprison and beat their Persons, without any known charge, accuser, or witness against them ; nay, murther them, as in the case of Doctor *Rawleygh*, killed in prison at *Welles* by the Committee's Marshall ; and the poor men murthered at *Bridgewater* ; whose bloods were shed like the blood of a dog, and no real prosecution made thereof ; How frequently they levy one tax three or four times over, and continue their levies after the Ordinance expires ; How cruelly they raise the twentieth and fifth part upon the well-affected, exercising an illegal, arbitrary, tyrannical power over their fellow-Subjects,—far higher than ever *Strafford* or *Canterbury* durst advise the King to exercise ; How ignorantly and unjustly they exercise a power to hear and determine, or rather to determine without hearing, or hear without understanding, private controversies of *Meum & Tuum* for debt, trespasses, nay, Title and possession of Lands, without either formality or knowledge of the law, not having wit, manners, nor breeding enough, as being chosen for the greatest part, out of the basest of the people, for base ends, to satisfie men with an outside, or Complement of justice ; Inso-much

much that nothing is now more common, than an accusation without an accuser, a sentence without a Judge, and a condemnation without a hearing. How they exclude all other magistracy, engrossing to themselves the power of Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Church-wardens, &c. in an Arbitrary way; keeping Troops of Horse, upon pay and free quarter, for their guards, like the 30 Tyrants of *Athens*; and, if any man but speak of calling them to give an account, they presently vote him a Delinquent, and Sequester him. If any man, I say, be so deaf as not to hear the loud universal out-crying of the People, and is so great a stranger in our Israel as not to know these truths, let him peruse M. Edward King's discovery of the arbitrary actions of the Committee of *Lincoln*, and the heads of Grievances of *Glamorganshire*, printed 1647, where he may see these things briefly Epitomized; but to Historize them at large would require a volume as big as the book of *Martyrs*. These Committees are excellent sponges to suck money from the people, and to serve not only their own, but also the Covetous, Malicious, and Ambitious, ends of those that raked them out of the dunghill for that employment, and do defend them in their oppressions. Who is so blind as not to see that these men have their Protectors? the *Dæmones* to whom they offer-up part of their rapines, to whom they sacrifice

Occulta spolia, & plures de pace Triumphos.

If there be any intention to restore our Laws and Liberties, and free us from arbitrary Government, it is fit that these Committees and all associations be laid-down, having no enemy to associate against, and that the old form of Government by Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, &c. be re-established, and the Militia in each County settled, as before, in Lieutenants and deputy-Lieutenants, or in Commissioners.

The old form of government ought to be re-established instead of the new mode by Committees of Parliament,

The rather, because the people are now generally of opinion, That they may as easily find Charity in Hell, as Justice in any Committee, and that the King hath taken-down one Star chamber, and the Parliament hath set-up a hundred.

Nor is it a small artifice to raise money by so many

several and confused Taxes : Whereas one or two ways orderly used and well husbanded, would have done the work. 1. A Royall Subsidie of 300,000l. 2. Poll-money 3. The free Loans and Contributions upon the Publick Faith amounted to a vast, incredible sum in money, Plate Horse, Arms &c. 4. The Irish adventure for the sale o Lands the second time. 5. The weekly meal. 6. The City Loan after the rate of 50 Sub-idies. 7. The Assessmen for bringing-in the Scots. 8. The five & twentieth part 9. The Weekly Assessment for my Lord General's Army 10. The Weekly (or monethly) Assessment for Sir Thomas Fairfax's Army. 11. The Weekly Assessment for the Scotch Army. 12. The Weekly Assessment for the Britist Army in *Ireland*. 13. The Weekly Assessment for my Lo of Manchester's Army. 14. Free-quarter (at least) connived at by the State, because the Souldiers, having for a time subsistence that way, are the less craving for their pay whereby their Arrears, growing stale, will at last either be frustrated by a tedious Committee of Accounts, or forgotten ; in the mean time, the Grand Committee o Accounts, discount it out of the Commander's Arrears whereby the State saves it. 15. The King's Revenue. 16 Sequestrations and Plunder by Committees ; which, if well answered to the State, would have carried-on the work : which thus I demonstrate. One half of all the goods and Chattels ; and (at least) one-half of the Lands, Rents, and revenues of the kingdome ; have been seques tered. And who can imagine that one-half of the profit and Goods of the Land will not maintain any Force that can be kept and fed in *England*, for the defence thereof? 17. Excise upon all things. This alone, if well managed, would maintain the War : the Low-Countries make it almost the only support. 18. Fortification-money, &c. By these several ways and Taxes, about forty Millions, in money and money's worth, have been milked from the people ; and the Parliament (as the Pope did once) may call *England*, *Puteum inexhaustum* ; yet it is almost drawn-dry. A vast Treasure, and so excessive, as nothing but a long peace could import ; and nothing but much fraud and many follies could dissipate : and we ought not to wonder, if it be accounted *inter arcana novissimi*

novissimi imperii, to be always making, yet never finishing, an account thereof.

And, as they have artificially confounded the accounts by laying on a multiplicity of Taxes ; so (for the same reason) they let the money run in so many muddy, obscure, channels, through so many Committees and Officers' fingers, both for collecting receiving, issuing, and paying it forth, that it is impossible to make, or balance, any Publick account thereof ; and, at least, one half thereof is known to be devoured by Committees and Officers, and those that, for lucre, protect them. By these means, as they make many men partners with them in the publick spoyls, so they much strengthen and increase their party, whereby *multitudo pæccantium tollit pænam*.

If these things were not purposely done, 1. Our Taxes would be fewer in number, and more in effect. 2. They would be to run in one channel, under the fingering of fewer Harpies, and perspicuous and true Entries made of all receipts and disbursements, which would be publick to common view and examination. The Exchequer way of accounts is the exactest, and best known way of account of *England*, and most free from deceit; which is almost confessed *de facto*, when, to make the King's Revenue more obnoxious to their desires, they took it out of the Exchequer-way, (contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Land ; for both the Higher and the Lower Exchequer are as antient and fundamental as any court in *England* :) and put it under a Committee, which, (as all other Committees do,) will tender an account of their Stewardship at the latter day. In the mean time divers of that Committee buy-in old, sleeping, Pensions, which they pay themselves from the first of their arrears ; yet other men, that have disbursed money out of their purses for the King's Service, can receive no pay for any money laid-forth before Michaelmas Term, 1643, because (forsooth) then the Committee, first, took charge of the Revenue. In the mean time the King's Tenants and Debtors are deprived of the benefit of the Laws and Liberties of the subject, which before they enjoyed ; all Debts and Moneys being now raised by the terroure of Pursuivants and Messengers, whose Commissions are

only to destrain and levy, &c. whereas formerly the Exchequer sent-out legal Processe, and the Tenant or Debtor had liberty to plead to it in his own defence, if he thought himself wronged; but now, new Lords, new Laws; and to countenance their doings, the Committee have gotten an addition of some Lords to them. 3. If there were fair pla above-board, so many Members of both Houses would not be ambitious of the trouble and clamour that attends Task-masters, Publicans, and such sinners as sit at the receipt of Custome, being no part of the business for which the Writ Summons, or the people choose, or trust, them; and whereby they are diverted from the business of the House: but would leave that employment to other men, who (not having the character and privilege of Parliament upon them,) will be less able to protect themselves and their agents from giving publick accounts of their receipts and disbursements, and from putting affronts and delays upon the Committee of Accompts, (as it is well known) some of them have done. Lastly, it is scandalous that the same men should be continued so long in their money-employments, because *Diuturnitas & solitudo corrumput Imperia*; and by long continuance and experience they grow so hardened, so cunning in their way, and so backed with dependencies, that it is almost impossible to trace them. And although (when we look upon the many persons employed) we cannot say there is *solitudo personarum*; yet, when we consider that, by a long partnership in their employments, they are allied-together in one common Interest, they are to be esteemed but as one man: for a Corporation of men is but many men joined-together as one man, and with one mind pursuing one and the same end or Interest.

The Committee of Accounts.

And, though they have a general Committee of Accompts, yet they were nominated by those Members that ought to give Accompts, and it must needs be suspicious for an Accomptant to choose those persons before whom he shall accompt. And we see (after so long a time of their sitting) no fruit thereof. Whereas the people did hope, that, after so much money spent, and such great debts and arrears left to pay, (whereby they threatened

threatened with a continuance of their Taxes) that a full and exact account of all Receipts and Disbursements would have been published in print, for their satisfaction as is usually done in the Low Countries, and as was once done by this Parliament, Anno 1641, by a Declaration of the Accoumpts of the Kingdom.

But, it may be, the Synod in favour of the *Grandees*, have voted that place in Scripture (*Render an account of thy Stewardship*) to be but Apocryphal.

By these exorbitant courses, though they have drained Forty Millions from the People, yet as *Philip of Macedonia* was said to be *Inter quotidianas rapinas semper inops* they are fallen to such ridiculous want and beggary, that they have lately pawned almost all the security they have, for 200,000*l.* to disband the Army, and enter upon the Irish employmēt. They have slit Goldsmith's-Hall in sunder, and given one side thereof to the City, and kept the other half thereof to themselves, and that already charged with 200,000*l.* at least. So that, if any sudden occasion happen, they have put their purse into the hands of the uncircumcised Jews of the City, and cannot raise one penny but by new Taxes upon the people. It was worth observing, to see how officiously some of the old Stagers took leave of the publick purse, before it came into Hucksters' hands. Alderman Pennington had a debt of 300*l.* he owed to Sir John Pennington, forgiven him, (he never asked forgiveness of his sins more heartily) and 3,000*l.* more given him out of Goldsmith's-Hall in course; the reason of this bounty was forked, or two-fold.

1. Because he hath got enough before.

2. To comfort his heart, for being left out of the City Militia. But the most observable thing was, to see this old Parliament, like a young Prodigal, take-up money upon difficult terms, and entangle all that they had for a security.

1. They gave way to the City to hedge-in an old debt, being a loan of money after the rate of 50 Subsidies, and other old debts.

2. Whereas 200,000*l.* only was the sum to be borrowed, the City enjoyned them to take up 230,000*l.* whereof

Wants of the Parliament, and how occasioned.

the odd 30,000l. to be bestowed for relief of decayed occupiers of the City ; so that upon the matter the Parliament pays 30,000l. Brokerage.

3. That the City may not trust the greatest unthrifts of Christendome, with laying-out of their own money ; they put upon them two Treasurers of the City, to receive and disburse it for the service for which it was borrowed ; so you see they have now neither credit, money, nor a purse to put it in.

Modest and middle members.

So that the *modest Members*, who have been more forward to help their Country than to help themselves, are left in the lurch, for their losses, and exposed to the laughter of their elder brothers, the old *Junto-men*, and factious leaders of the House, all being now mortgaged to the *Lombards* of the City. The thriving Members hope their younger brothers will continue as modest as they have been, and digest all with patience. But others, and those neither fools nor knaves, hope that all the *modest and middle men* of the Houses, such as are engaged in no faction, will be provoked hereby to draw into a third party, or *Junto*, to moderate the excesses of the other two, when any thing prejudicial to the Common-wealth is agitated ; and to call the old *Junto-men*, those land-Pirates, to account, making them cast-up what they have swallowed, and bring it to a common *dividend*, or rather to pay the Army and Publick debts, whereby the people may be eased of their pressures. Not let them be discouraged with the supposed difficulty hereof ; since 20 or 30 men holding together, and observing the cross-debates, and different sway of each party, may easily make themselves moderators of their differences, and turn the scales, for the best advantage of the commonwealth, which way they please to cast in their Votes ; since it is very rare to have any question carried by more than eight or ten voices.

Grandees are making provision to save themselves.

Most of these *Grandees* are reported to have, for their *retreat*, houses in the Low-Countries, richly furnished with Sequestered Plate, Linnen, and Stuff, and great store of money in bank for their shelter, against such stormes as their Rapine, Tyranny, and ignorance, may happily raise here amongst us. In those their retirements, these authors of our miseries will enjoy their sins, and our

our spoyls in security, attending an opportunity to purchase their peace at last, and betray our safeties and Liberties to the enraged Prince and People. This is called robbing of the Ægyptians ; and doubtlesse these ambitious State-Mountebanks have brought us into darkness worse then Egyptian. The text saith, the Egyptians rose not from their places in three days ; they yet knew where they were, which is more than we do, every man being out of his place and rank ; the Servant in place of his Master, the Beggar in place of the King, the Fool in place of the Councillour, the Thief in place of the Judge, the cheater in place of the Treasurer, the Clown in place of the Gentleman : none but God alone can play *Dædalus's* part, and give us a Clue to lead us out of this labyrinth, into which these unpolitick *Hocus Pocusses* have brought us ; these unskilful workmen, that have built-up *Babel*, and pulled-down *Sion*. Others are said to prepare Foreign Plantations for retreat ; to people which, Children are ravished from their parents Arms, and shipped-away ;—an abomination not known in *England* before, and therefore no competent law has been made against it; no more than in ancient *Rome* against Parricides.

By what hath been already said, you see what the *several*, and what the *conjoyned intercsts* of these two *Juntoes, or Factions, Presbyterian and Independent*, are : let us now consider where *their several strength* lies. The *Independent* groundeth his strength upon the *Army*, which if he can keep-up, he hopes to give the Law to all ; and to produce that great Chimæra, *Liberty of conscience* : not considering that the confusion and licentiousnesse of such a liberty will destroy itself, *libertas libertate perit*. The *Presbyterians* have three *Pillars* to support them, 1, The *City* is their chief foundation, with which they keep a strict correspondence and daily communication of Counsels. Upon this consideration they have lately put the Parliament's purse into the Citie's Pocket, as aforesaid ; and settled and enlarged the City-Militia. Whereas all the Countries of *England* (being more obnoxious to injuries than the *City*) suffer much for want of settling their Militia, the Parliament not trusting them with arms, even so much as for their own defence. This is an evident sign that there

is
Grandees; their several interests and designs and strengths.

is a farther design than that of disbanding this army. And because the City-Militia can only keep in awe the adjacent South and East Counties of the Kingdom ; therefore, to suppress the remoter parts, and enforce them to obedience, they keep-up some *in-land Garrisons*, and have the Scots and General *Poynitz's army supernumerary for the North*; and in the *West* (under colour for sending men for *Ireland*) they keep, upon free quarter and pay of the Country, *many supernumerary Regiments* and Troops, mostly Cavaliers, at least five times as many as they really intend to transport. These are always going, but never gone; like St. *George*, always in his saddle, and never on his way. Something ever is and shall be wanting untill Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* army be disbanded ; and then (it is thought) the disguise will fall-off ; and these supernumeraries shall appear a new-modelled Army, under Presbyterian Commanders you may be sure, and such whose Consciences shall not befool their wits where any matter of gain appeareth. If this be not their aim, why did they not disband those lewd supernumeraries before last Winter, since they might have raised as many men the spring following for half the charge their very free quarters cost ? and most of these swear they will not go for *Ireland*, vowing they will cut the throats of the Roundheads.

The Country is amazed, fearing these Cavaliers are kept on free quarter by a Cavaleerish party for some Cavaleerish design. Secondly, why did they not rather divide Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army into two parts, one to go for *Ireland*, the other to stay in *England*, being already modelled, excellently disciplined, and having the visible marks of God's favour upon their actions ? But to take a few for *Ireland*, a few for *England*, and leave a Coar in the middle to be plucked-off and disbanded, was the way to discontent them, and put them into mutiny, and thereby necessitate the Parliament to disband them all, and give an opportunity to them that seek it, to new-modell another army out of the aforesaid Supernumeraries, more pliable to the desires of the Presbyterian *Junto*. Add hereunto the causeless, exasperating speeches and aspersions cast upon most of the Army, purposely (as
moderate

moderate men think) to discontent them. Thirdly, if they have no intent to keep-up an Army against the People, why have they continued the military charge for another year, and enlarged it from 52,000l. to 60,000l. a moneth?

Thus the City, *In-land Garrisons*, *Supernumerary Presbyters*. forces now-modelled are like to prove the three-stringed whip, wherewith the Presbyterian *Phaetons* will drive the triumphant Chariot, if they prevail: to which may be added the Presbyters themselves, who, by over-awing mens Consciences with their Doctrine, will subdue and work mens minds, like wax, to receive any impression of bondage that tyranny and oppression can set before them; as they do in *Scotland*. The Clergy, in all times and places, have ever held with the mighty, as the Jackall hunts still with the Lion to partake of his prey; The Clergy have ever had an itch to be meddling with State-affairs; which shows how contemptible an opinion they have of their own Coat, that they can find no contentment in it; yet they would have the Laiety to have a reverend opinion of it. The Popish Clergy draw all Civil Affairs, publick and private, under their jurisdiction and cognisance, *quatenus* there is *peccatum* in all human actions; the Presbyterians do the same thing, *quatenus* there is *scandalum* in all human actions. What is the odds? *Pec-
catum* is the mother, *Scandalum* the Daughter; and both pretend they do this *in ordine ad Deum*. But universal experience teacheth us, how miserable that Commonwealth is, where the corruption of a Church-man proves the generation of a Statesman.

The premisses considered, I shall propound these ensuing *Quæries* to those that are of better judgement than myself.

1. *Quære*, why the title and punishment of Malignants is translated from the Cavaliers, who fought for regal Tyranny against the Parliament, and laid upon those that fought against regal Tyranny for the Parliament? Is it not because those Cavaliers that have fought for one Tyranny, will not be scrupulous to fight for another? and such well-affected as have opposed Tyranny in one kind, will not admit of it in another? why is it now accounted

*Quæres upon the
premisses.*

counted a note of Malignancy and disaffection to endeavour the putting-down of arbitrary Government, and re-establishing our Laws, Liberties, and Properties, whereto the Parliament by their many Declarations and their National Covenant are bound? lay this to heart, and consider whether they have not changed these their first Principles, and consequently whether they are not desirous to change their old friends who resolutely adhere to the said Principles.

2. If the King grant the Propositions, or if he deny them; and the *Predominant Junto* (or both *Juntoes* joyned together, to drive on one Common interest? for it is now thought they are upon an accommodation to keep-up that lower *Conjunction*, which they despair to uphold *divisim*) establish the military and civil power without him, according to their desires, and in order to their aims; *Quære*, whether the said leading men settled in their posture, with their confident guards about them, may not draw after them so many of their party as upon an implicit faith, will follow them, and lick-up the crumbs of the publick spoiles under their tables, expelling or disabling (as aforesaid) the disengaged Members, and by this policy make themselves perpetual Dictators, incorporating and engrossing to themselves both the Consultive, Directive, and Ministerial power of the Kingdom, in all causes Civil and Military, setting-up an *Oligarchy*, or popular Tyranny, instead of a Regal, as the Thirty Tyrants of *Athens* did. In order whereto, they already declare, 1. That an ordinance of Parliament, without the King's royal assent, is equall to an Act of Parliament. 2. That an Ordinance is above a Law by virtue of their legislative power: upon which, presuming in their Ordinance of Indemnity, they have granted an appeal from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament; See the ordinance May 1, 1647. 3. That they are the irrevocable Trustees of the peoples Lives, Liberties and Properties, without account, with other *principles preparative to Tyranny*.

3. *Quære*, Why Arbitrary and Barbarous Government by Committees and other illegal proceedings (which in time of war were used upon real, or pretended, necessity, and

and were then only excusable, because *necessitas tollit Legem*) are still continued upon us now in time of peace, no enemies troubling our quiet ; and without any further pretence of necessity, contrary to their National Covenant, and all their Declarations ? is it not to inure the people to servitude, and exercise their patience ?

4. *Quære*, Whether the prodigious oppressions of Committees, Sequestrators, &c. and of Free-quarter, be not purposely countenanced to necessitate the people to rise in tumults, that thence occasion may be taken to keep in-land Garrisons and Armies ?

5. *Quære*. Whether our Laws, Liberties, and Properties, are not now as liable to an invasion from the *Legislative power*, as formerly from the *Prerogative* ? considering that those who, like ambitious *Absalom*, courted and wooed the people in the beginning of the trouble, now, like hungry *Rehoboams*, care not though the people complain. Their little finger is heavier than the loyns of the King; the controversie between the two *Juntoes* being no more than whose slaves we shall be.

6. *Quære*, Whether if the King hereafter tread in the steps of the Parliament, and their Committees, he will not be a greater tyrant than either the Turk, Russe, or French, and have as absolute dominion over his Subjects, as the Devil hath over damned souls in Hell ? and how dangerous these precedents may be to those Laws and Liberties which we have sworn to maintain.

If the *middle and disengaged men* in the House, do not speedily unite themselves into a party or *Junto*, (as the factions have done,) and communicate their counsels, they will be *arena sine calce*, loose and dissipated by every breath : and neither serviceable to themselves nor to their Country. Whereas, if they unite, twenty or thirty may become Moderators and Umpires between both parties ; as hath been already said. Let the moderate men but consider how sad and dishonourable a thing it is, to see nothing almost of great and publick concernment come into the House, but what hath been *before-hand contrived, debated and digested* in one or both of the two *Juntoes* at their private meetings, and put into so resolved and prejudicate a way and method of dispatch, that every

Middle and moderate Members again.

man

man is appointed his part, or Cue, before-hand ; one man to move it, and set it on foot, another to second him ; one man speak to one part of the Argument, another to another part ; another to keep himself to the last for a reserve, and speak to the question; which he is provided to qualify with a distinction, or vary it, if he find it difficult to pass. Thus all publick businesses are measured by private respects ; whereby it appears, that, as *frequent Parliaments* are good *Physick*, so continual Parliaments are *bad food* ; and the people may complain, that *qui medice vivit, miserè vivit.* Parliaments are *Bona peritura* ; they cannot keep long without corruption. Their perpetuity emboldens the members, by taking from them all fear of being called to account, especially if they get their sons into the Houses as well as themselves, (as many have done this Parliament, and more endeavour to do) whereby they have an estate in their places for two or three lives*. Moreover, by long sitting they become so familiar with one another's persons and designs, as to serve one another's turns, to joyn interests, and to draw into factions, *Hodiè mihi, cràs tibi.* If you and your party will help me to day, I and my friends will help you to-morrow.

Miserima Respublica ubi majestas Imperii, & salus populi discordibus conflictantur studiis. What shall we say ?

En ! quo discordia tetra——perduxit miseros ?

Shall we complain to God ? God hath a controversie with us. Of whom shall we complain ?—of ourselves ? we must first reform ourselves ; We, that take upon us to reform Church and Common-wealth. Shall we complain of our sins ? Ask the grace of repentance first, and so ask that we may obtain. Shall we complain of our punishments ? Let us first repent, and amend our sins, that caused them. Let us first pluck-off the mask of hypocrisie ; God will see through such a fantastical gar-

* These inconveniences arising from the long continuance of the same House of Commons, would be removed by reviving the good old custom of having a new Parliament elected by a new writ of summons, at least once in every year, as was prescribed by two acts of Parliament in the 4th and the 36th years of the great king Edward the 3d, which appear to have been constantly observed from the 36th year of king Edward the 3d's reign to the 18th year of the following reign of king Richard the 2d, or for 83 successive years.

ment of Fig-leaves. Let us no longer make religion a stalking-horse ; God, who is all Wisdome and all Truth, will not be deceived. If we talk like Christians, and walk like Turks, Christ will not own us. To fast for a day, and hang our heads like bulrushes, will not reconcile us. We must fast from publick spoyls, rapines, and oppression, and not drink the tears of the poor and needy. Shall we complain with the prophets, That our Princes are become Thieves ? That was heretofore our complaint; but now we must invert it, and cry, That our Thieves (mean and base people) are become Princes. We are sick, very sick, intemperately sick, and God hath given us a Physician in his wrath, a Leper as white as snow, fitter to infect, than cure us. What Physick doth he prescribe ? Poyson. What diet ? Stones instead of bread, Scorpions instead of fishes ; hard fare for them who formerly fed so daintily. Before I conclude, let me give you the pedigree of our Miseries, and of their Remedies. A long Peace begat Plenty ; Plenty begat Pride, and her Sister Riot ; Pride begat Ambition ; Ambition begat Faction ; Faction begat Civil War : And (if our evils be not incurable, if we be not fallen *in id temporis quo nec vitia nostra, nec eorum remedia ferre possumus*) our War will beget Poverty, Poverty Humility, Humility Peace again ; *Sic rerum revertentibus vicibus annulus vertitur Poliicus.* The declining spoke of the Wheel will rise again. But we are not yet sufficiently humbled, we have not repented with Ninevy : We wear Silks and Velvets instead of Sackcloth and Ashes (even the meanest up-start hath his thefts writ upon his back by his Taylor in proud Characters of Gold Lace) ; we have not watered our Couch with our Tears, but with an adulterous sweat. Look to it therefore, ye State *Incubi*, that, by an incestuous copulation, have begot Plenty upon War, and filled your houses with the spoyl and plunder of your dear Country ; an inundation of blood, and of the tears of the oppressed, will wash-away the foundation of your houses : And peace will be far from you in this world, but especially that peace which the world cannot give : And because, *Salamander-like*, you delight in the fire of Contention, an unquenchable fire will be your lot hereafter.

And,

And, though you escape all accounts here, yet upon the great day of account, when you shall receive your sentence of condemnation, those your Children for whose preferment you sell your Souls, your God for gold, shall not shew so much thankfulness or pity towards you, as to say, alas our Father! But your hearts are hardened with *Pharaoh*; I leave you therefore to *Pharaoh's* destiny, to be drowned in your own Red-sea, as he was in his.

Resolution and scope
of the author.

Thus far have I adventured to vindicate our Religion, Laws, and Liberties with my pen; in discharge of my conscience and pursuance of our National Covenant, which oblieth us to defend them against whomsoever, to our power; neither knowing nor caring whether, in so wicked an age (wherein vice is honoured, and virtue contemned) I may be thought worthy of punishment for being more righteous than my superjoures. I know an honest man is wondered-at like a monster, and the innocency of his life and conversation suspected as a libel against the State: yet, if I perish, I perish; *et pereundum in licitis*. Nor am I less provided of a safe retreat than our Grandees; my grave is open for me, and one foot in it already. *Contempsit omnes ille qui mortem prius*: He that contemns death, scorns both Hope and Fear, which are the only affections that make Knaves, Fools, and Cowards, of all the world: The world is a goodly Theatrer, we are the actors, God is poet and chief spectator; we must not choose our own parts: that is at God's appointment; one man he appoints to play the King, another the beggar; one a comick, another a Tragick part; whatsoever part God hath appointed for me in this remainder of my life, I will have a care to personate it ingenuously and aptly, not doubting but my *Exit* shall be accompanied with an applause into my Tyring-room, my Tombe; nor will I refuse the meanest part that may draw a plaudit from so excellent a spectator, but will prepare myself for the worst of evils in this worst of times, and pray to God to reform our Reformers. *Amen.*

THE END.

MEMOIRS
OF
SIR JOHN BERKLEY,

CONTAINING
AN ACCOUNT OF HIS NEGOTIATION

WITH
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CROMWELL,
COMMISSARY-GENERAL IRETON,
AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE ARMY,

For Restoring King CHARLES the FIRST, to the Exercise
of the Government of England.

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M E M O I R S
O F
SIR JOHN BERKLEY.

IN the Year 1647, her Majesty, and his Highness the Prince of *Wales*, were pleased to send me into *Holland*, to condole the death of the Prince of *Orange*; and having performed that office, I returned with Mr. *John* and Mr. *William Ashburnham*, to *France*, by the way of *Calais*; where we met with the news of his Majesty's being seized by one *Cornet Joyce*, in *Holmby House*, from whence he was carried with a guard of 400 horse, towards the army, the Cornet producing no authority, whereby to warrant this proceeding. The next Post brought us advertisement to *Calais*, that his Majesty was well-received by the officers and soldiers of the Army, and that there were great hopes conceived, that they would both concur to establish his Majesty in his just Rights. From *Calais* we went to *Rouen*, where we met a confirmation of this intelligence, and heard withal, that one Sir *Edward Ford* (who was brother-in-law to Commissary-general *Ireton*) was sent, by her Majesty and his Highness the Prince of *Wales*, into *England*, to discover the intentions of the Army, and to promote an agreement between his Majesty and them. From *Rouen*, we went to *St. Germain's*; where, we were no sooner arrived, but we heard that Mr. *Denham* (who, during his imprisonment, had contracted a great familiarity with Mr. *Peters*, a preacher, and a powerful person in the Army,) was dispatched with a Commission to the like effect, with that of Sir *Edward Ford*. As I was going up to her Majesty, I met, accidentally, with my Lord *Culpepper*, who scarce had saluted me, before he told me, that I must prepare myself immediately for another journey, her Majesty being resolved to send me into *England*, after Sir *Edward Ford* and

Mr. Denham. I answered, that I had no pass, nor any acquaintance with any one of the Army; and that I doubted, that, if the King's party should come too thick upon them at first, those of the Army would be jealous, that they should have too many sharers in the places and preferments, which they might, perhaps, meditate to procure and preserve to themselves. His Lordship replied, That, if I were afraid to go into *England*, her Majesty and his Highness would serve themselves of some other person, because they conceived it necessary to employ some to the Army, that might be supposed to have greater trust, both with the Queen in *France*, and with the King in *England*, than either Sir *Edward Ford* or Mr. *Denham* had. I returned, That if, after a serious consideration, it should be judged of use to dispatch me into *England*, I would adventure, though I had not the honour to be very well known to his Majesty, and, therefore, could not expect any great trust from him. To that part, his Lordship replied, That there was an intention to send Mr. *John Ashburnham* after me; but, that he would not go without a pass, and therefore, that I should have it added to my instructions to procure him one. Within few days after, I had my dispatch, and went by the way of *Dieppe*, where I met with Mr. *William Leg*, of the Bedchamber to his Majesty. He embarked with me for *England*; we arrived at *Hastings*, and from thence went the next day towards *London*. Two miles on this side *Tunbridge* I met with Sir *Allen Apsley*, who had been my Lieutenant-governor of *Exeter*, and afterwards Governor of *Barnstaple*, in the County of *Devon*. He told me, that he was going to me from *Cromwell*, and some other officers of the Army, with letters, and a cypher, and instructions, which were to this effect: "That he should desire me to remember, "that, in some conferences with Colonel *Lambert*, and "other officers of the Army, upon the rendering of "Exeter, I had taken notice of the Army's bitter in- "veighing against the King's person, as if he had been "the worst of men, and their excessive extolling the "Parliament; both which being without any colour of "ground, I had concluded, that those discourses were not "out of any persuasion of mind, but affected to prepare "men

Cromwell and some
other officers of the
Parliament-Army,
send letters to Sir
John Berkley, offer-
ing to treat with the
King for his resto-
ration to the exercise
of the Royal autho-
rity. In June, 1647.

“ men to receive the alteration of Government, which they
“ intended that the Parliament should effect, by the assist-
“ ance of the Army ; which I had said, was not only a most
“ wicked, but a very difficult, if not an impossible, design,
“ for a few men, not of the greatest quality, to introduce
“ a popular Government against the King and his Party,
“ against the Presbyterians, against the Nobility and Gen-
“ try, against the Laws established, both Ecclesiastical
“ and Civil, and against the whole Genius of the Nation,
“ that had been accustomed, for so many ages, to a Mo-
“ narchical Government. Whereas, on the other side, if
“ they would but consider, that those of their Party had
“ no particular obligations to the Crown, (as many of the
“ Presbyterians had,) and therefore ought less to despair of
“ his Majesty’s Grace and Favour ;—that the Presbyter
“ began this War upon specious pretences of making the
“ King a glorious King ;—that, under that pretext, they
“ had deceived many well-meaning men, and had brought
“ great things to pass ; but that now the mask was taken-
“ off, and they were discovered to have sought their own
“ advantages—and, at the same time, that the power to do
“ themselves much good, or much hurt to others, was now
“ almost wrested out of their hands ; and that this had been
“ done by the Independent Party, who could establish them-
“ selves, no way under Heaven, so justly and prudently, as
“ by making good what the Presbyterians had only pre-
“ tended to do, that is, the restoring King and People
“ to their just and ancient Rights; which would so ingra-
“ tiate them with both, that they would voluntarily in-
“ vest them with as much trust and power as Subjects are
“ capable of : Whereas, if they grasped at more, it would
“ be with the general hatred, and with their own destruc-
“ tion. To this discourse of mine, they now informed me
“ that, at that time, they had only given a hearing, but no
“ consent, as proceeding from an interest much divided
“ from theirs : but that they had since found, by expe-
“ rience, all, or the most part, of it, to be so reason-
“ able, that they were resolved to put it in practice, as I
“ might perceive by what had already passed. They desired
“ for the present nothing of me, but that I would present
“ them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be Suitorto
“ them in their names, not to condemn them absolutely,

“ but to suspend their Opinions of them, and their Pre-
 “ tensions towards his Majesty, and judge them rather
 “ by their future Behaviour; of the innocence whereof
 “ they had already given some Testimonies to the World,
 “ and would do more and more, daily. When I should
 “ have done this Office, they desired I would come over
 “ into *England*, and become an eye-witness of their pro-
 “ ceedings.” I thought this renounter no ill *Omen* to
 my future proceedings. Sir *Allen Apsley* told me I
 should have to do with subtil men, that governed them-
 selves by other maxims than the rest of the World. I re-
 member I answered, that the caution was good, and that I
 would arm myself the best I could; but that it was hard
 to secure ourselves from malicious men, when we were ab-
 solutely in their power. I took the best information I
 could from Sir *Allen Apsley*, and resolved with him to go
 into *London*, before I went to the King or the Army, that I
 might be enlightened by the most able men of our Party;
 which I did, and collected this following discourse from
 them.

The state of the two
 Parties of Presby-
 terians and Independ-
 ents in June, 1647.

During the time his Majesty was at *Newcastle*, the Independent Party was so prevalent in the House of Commons, that the Presbyterians were forced to consent to have the King rendered by the *Scots* to the Parliament; and his Majesty was accordingly delivered by them to the *English* Committee, and a guard of *English* set upon him of the Presbyterian party, and no passionate enemies of his Majesty. The Presbyterian party, (that was very numerous in the House of Commons, and over-voted the other in most questions,) had engaged themselves privately (by some of their Chiefs) to the *Scots* in two points; first, that the Army should be disbanded, and then that the King should be brought to his Parliament with Honour and Safety. The disbanding was gone-about very seriously by the Parliament; and a Committee (whereof the Earl of *Warwick* was the chief) chosen, and accordingly sent to *Newmarket*, or *Saffron-walden*, where the Army then lay. Many of the Army professed really their obedience to the Parliament as to the disbanding; but none more solemnly than *Cromwell*, who made great execrations against himself in the House, if he did not desire it cordially.

dially. He had always professed great submission to the Parliament, (who had very liberally rewarded him for his service,) and was hopeful to have begotten so great a confidence in them, that they would have been contented to entertain the Army as their Pretorian Band; and therefore was very sorry to see the House bent to license them, but durst not appear against it, because he had many ill-willers in the Army, and did believe they durst not, or would not, unanimously oppose the Parliament in that particular, and therefore refused to go to the Army, tho' he was sent-for often by the mutinous party, who upon that score were not a little offended with him; and at length, their discontents increasing, seeing themselves deserted by their superior officers, they thought of some means to secure themselves from their ungrateful Parliament, which they began now perfectly to hate; and thereupon they chose to themselves Adjutators in every regiment, and in every troop of horse, by whom they engaged themselves to be absolutely concluded. The first Resolution these new-elected Officers took, was, not to disband, and, the next, to seize the King's Person. *Cromwell* staid very long in *London*, for one that had been the Author of that Design: however, he at last stole out of Town, and joined with the Mutineers, but did not so readily concur in the seizing the King's Person, or at least pretended not to do it; For he sent his Kinsman, *Whalley*, with Orders * to use all means but Force, to cause his Majesty to return to *Holmby*; but his Majesty absolutely refusing, *Whalley* marched with his Majesty towards the Army.

This account I had from the most discerning of my acquaintance in *London*, from whence I went to the Head-Quarters at *Reading*, with intention (after I had delivered my Message) to desire leave to wait on his Majesty at *Causum*. I was no sooner arrived at *Reading*, but I spoke with Sir *Edward Ford* and Mr. *John Den-*

The Army refuses to
be disbanded.

They chuse new of-
ficers called *Adjuta-
tors*, or *Agitators*, to
manage their dis-
putes with the Par-
liament.

* This information given to Sir John Berkley, by his friends at *London*, was not quite exact. For it was not Lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, but Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the General in Chief, who gave this order to Colonel *Whalley*. *Cromwell* was the person who had advised and encouraged the seizure of the King's person by *Cornet Joyce*.

ham. Both of them were much of the same advice with those I had discoursed with at London concerning the present power of the Adjutators, by whom the most important affairs of the Kingdom and Army were transacted. By them I learnt that his Majesty came very unwillingly from Holmby; that his Majesty would not go to the Army, tho' he were earnestly invited by the Officers; that his Majesty, against the consent of the Army, concurred with the Vote of the Parliament, to go to Richmond, where he would have been out of the Army's power, and would not be persuaded out of his resolution, till the Army forced the Parliament to recal their Vote: Then his Majesty would needs go to Windsor, much against the sense of the Army; but, because they could not persuade his Majesty, they forced him from thence by ill-usage; and that the rather, because he would not be intreated to pass by the Army in his way to Windsor: In sum, they doubted that his Majesty hearkened to some secret propositions of the Presbyterians, and bent all his thoughts to make an absolute Breach between the Army and the Parliament; which Ireton discerned, and told his Majesty plainly, "Sir, you have an intention to be the Arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be it between your Majesty and the Parliament."

Sir John Berkley has a conference with Cromwell and two other great officers of the Army.

Two or three hours after my arrival, Cromwell sent an Officer to excuse him to me, that he could not wait on me till ten at night, by reason he was sitting with the Committee of Parliament, and should not rise till then. He came then accompanied with Rainsborough, and Sir Hardress Waller. After general discourse, I told him the sum of my Instructions from the Queen and Prince; which were to assure them, that her Majesty and his Highness, were not partial to the Presbyterians, nor any way averse to them; that I should endeavour to incline his Majesty to comply with them, as far as would stand with his honour and conscience, and to dispose them to press his Majesty no farther. His answer was in these words: "That, whatever the World might judge of them, they would be found no seekers of themselves, farther than to have leave to live as Subjects ought to do, and to preserve their consciences; and that they thought

Cromwell's Declaration of his sincere desire of seeing the King restored to the exercise of his royal authority upon safe and reasonable terms.

" thought no men could enjoy their Lives and Estates
" quietly, without the King had his Rights, which they
" had declared in general terms already to the World,
" and would more particularly very speedily, wherein
" they would comprise the several Interests of the Royal,
" Presbyterian, and Independent Parties, as far as they
" were consisting with each other ;" which I understood
afterwards, to be meant of the *Proposals* of the Army. I
went the next day to the General, by Cromwell's direc-
tion, to ask his leave to see the King; which he was
pleased to grant. I delivered my Letters and Instructions
to his Majesty. I found that his Majesty discovered not
only to me, but to every one he was pleased to converse
with, a total dissidence of all the Army, except *Hunting-
ton*, and grounded it chiefly upon the Officers backward-
ness, to treat of receiving any favour, or advantage from
his Majesty. I was of his Majesty's sense, that men
whose hands were yet hot with the blood of his most
faithful Subjects, ought not entirely to be trusted, but
thought they ought absolutely to be well dissembled-with,
whilst his Majesty was in their hands, at least, that he
might the better get out of them; and, to this end, I offered
several expedients; as, to suffer *Peters* to preach before
his Majesty, of which he was very ambitious; and to con-
verse with him, and others of the Army, with freedom;
and, by all means, to endeavour to gain the good opinion
of the most active Adjutators, and the like. But his Ma-
jesty concurred in none of them; which made me doubt
that his Majesty valued my reasons something the worse on
account of the Author of them; and therefore I meditated
nothing so much, as to procure a pass for Mr. *John Ash-
burnham*, with whom I hoped I might prevail, and he with
his Majesty; which, within few days after, I did obtain,
and caused it to be delivered to his Servant.

About four days after my coming to the Army, there
came two General Officers from the Council of War to
me, to let me know, that they had been informed that I
had some wrong done me upon the Rendition of *Exeter*,
to a great value; and that, if I would put the sum under
my hand, they would see that I should have satisfaction.
I gave them most hearty thanks; but withal told them,

that

Sir John Berkley has
a conference with
the King.

that I came not to them upon my own business, but that of his Majesty ; which as soon as they should dispatch, no man living would be more ready to receive and acknowledge this, or any other, favour from them ; till then, it would no way become me to do it. This was a generosity which those Self-deniers thought might do well in discourse and speculation ; but could not understand it, when brought into practice, and therefore concluded that I was so great a Presbyterian, that I would chuse rather to loose twelve hundred pounds (which was my pretension) than to offend my Lord *Roberts*, a great Presbyterian, who must have made me reparation ; in which opinion they were confirmed by two Letters they had lately perused, the one from Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, at *Antwerp*, and the other from Sir *William Fleetwood*, at *London*; both affirming, that to their knowledge I was an engaged Presbyterian. I was altogether a stranger to them both, and therefore did attribute this, either to their envy that I was admitted, or grief that they were excluded from the employment, between his Majesty and the Army. However it was, upon those surmises *Cromwell* came to expostulate the matter plainly with me, and I replied to him in these words, That I was as much Presbyterian as Independent ; that I, as well as others, was inclined to think the better of them, because they pretended to mind the King's Restoration ; but bid them be assured, that as soon as I should discover they were not real, I, and, I thought, all the King's Party, would join with any that would but dissemble better than they ; and concluded, that I thought nothing would separate the Crown and the King's Party. *Cromwell* seemed not unsatisfied with this plain dealing, and so left me. The next day, *Huntington*, who was sent to me by the King, made me acquainted with two General Officers, whom I durst not name, because they are obnoxious to the present power. With these I had often, and free Communication ; and inquiring what opinion they had of the Army in general, as to a conjunction with the King, they replied, that they did believe, it was universally desired both by the Officers and Adjutators ;—that, if *Cromwell* was not real in it, he was a great Dissembler, and so was *Ireton* ;—that, for the present the whole

whole Army was so bent upon it, that they durst not be otherwise ; -- that, if they should ever happen to change, they should easily discover it ; and, because they had been, in great part, the cause that Sir *Allen Apsley* was sent to me, they thought themselves obliged to give me all the light they could of things and persons ; which to the last they performed, in my opinion, most sincerely. I let them know at our first meeting, that I doubted there would be three great difficulties, which would obstruct the Agreement. First, they would expect that the King should not only give them Liberty of Conscience, but alter the Established Ecclesiastical Government, which his Majesty was persuaded he could not in conscience do. The second, that they would not be contented to separate some few men from the Court, and from bearing great Offices, unless they and their Posterity were ruined, and that by the King's Act ; which his Majesty could not in Honour permit. And, thirdly, that they would not be contented with a security of the Militia, during his Majestie's life ; and his Majesty could not grant it farther, but infinitely to the prejudice of his Posterity. They assured me that his Majesty would be pressed in none of these particulars, and that there was a draught of Proposals, which *Ireton* had drawn, and which would certainly be voted by the whole Army, wherein there was nothing tending to any such purpose ; and, if his Majesty would consent to them, there would be an end of all difficulties ; and they thought that, the sooner his Majesty did it, the better it would be ; because there was no certainty in the temper of the Army, which they had observed to have altered more than once already. I asked whether I might not have a sight of these proposals ; they answered, when I pleased. I went with them to *Ireton* for that purpose, and remained with him almost till morning. He permitted me to alter two of the articles, and that in most material points ; and I would have done a third, which was, the excluding seven persons (that were not named) from pardon, and the admitting of our party, to sit in the next Parliament. To the first he answered, That being they had prevailed in the War, if they should not in the sight of the World make some distinction between themselves and those that were

Sir John Berkley examines the proposals of the Army in conjunction with Commissary General *Ireton*.

were worsted (who always bear the blame of publick quarrels) they had so many malicious enemies, both in the Parliament and Army, that they should be censured of betraying their party, and to have sought their own ends by private and indirect means. To the second, He confessed that he should himself be afraid of a Parliament, wherein the King's party should have the major vote: but after the agreement, if the King's party, and they, could piece kindly and cordially together, there would be nothing easier, than to procure his Majesty satisfaction in those two particulars. He concluded, by conjuring me, as I tendered his Majestie's good and welfare, that I would endeavour to prevail with him, to grant the proposals, that they might with the more confidence propound them to the Parliament, and make an end of all differences. Out of my discourses and inquiries, I collected these observations:

Of the Opinions and Inclinations of the Army at the time of making these proposals to the King.

First, that the Army was governed partly by a Council of War, and partly by a Council of the Army, or Agitators, wherein the General had but a single voice; that *Fairfax*, the General, had little power in either; that *Cromwell*, and his son *Ireton*, with their Friends and Partisans, governed the Council of War absolutely, but not that of the Army, which was the most powerful, though they had a strong party there also; but the major part of

Many of the Agitators are jealous of the ambitious designs of Cromwell.

the Adjutators carried it. Amongst these Adjutators, there were many ill-wishers of *Cromwell*, looking on him as one who would always make his advantages out of the Army. These observed that *Cromwell* resolved to prosecute his ambitious ends, through all means whatsoever, and did not only dissemble, but really change his way to those ends; and, when he thought the Parliament would make his fortune, resigned himself totally to them, even to the disbanding of the Army before it was paid: When the Presbyterians prevailed, he took the Covenant: When he quitted the Parliament, his chief dependence was on the Army, which he endeavoured, by all means, to keep in unity; and, if he could not bring it to his sense, he, rather than suffer any division in it, went-over himself, and carried his friends with him, into that way which the Army did chuse; and that faster than any other person in it. Upon this ground, when the Army was for the Parliament, no man

so violent as he in both : When the Army became for the King against the Parliament, no man drove so furiously as he : and, when the Army changed a third time for the Parliament, and against the King, he was still the Leader : and, if the Army shall change a fourth time, to become Levellers (though he will oppose this at first, as he did all other changes), no man shall out-go him in Levelling. All that he seems to desire is, that the Army would be constant in any way, that he might not be necessitated to the playing of so many different parts, he being equally indifferent to all that will afford him equal advantages.

When I came to *Reading*, I found many of the Adjutators jealous, that *Cromwell* was not sincere for the King, and they desired me, if I found him false to their engagement, that I would let them know it, and they did not doubt to set him right, either with, or against, his will. But, in all my conferences with him, I found no man, in appearance, so zealous for a speedy blow as he ; sometimes wishing that the King was more frank, and would not tie himself so strictly to narrow maxims ; sometimes complaining of his son *Ireton's* slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his not accommodating more to his Majesty's sense ; always doubting, that the Army would not preserve their good inclinations for the King. I met with him about three days after I came to *Reading*, as he was coming from the King, then at *Causum* : He told me, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the King and his Children, and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, That never man was so abused as he, in his sinister opinions of the King, who, he thought, was the uprightest and most conscientious man of his three Kingdoms ; that they, of the Independent Party, (as they were called) had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the *Scots Propositions* at *Newcastle*, which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majesty's Interest seemed to invite him to ; and concluded, with me, by wishing, that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards his Majesty. I immediately acquainted his Majesty with this passage ; who seemed not well edified with it, and did believe,

But he appeared to
Sir John Berkley to
be earnestly desirous
of a speedy agree-
ment with the King.

believe, that all proceeded out of the use *Cromwell* and the Army had of his Majesty, without whom, he thought, they could do nothing ; and this, I conceive, was inculcated daily, by *Bampfield* and *Loe*, at first, and afterwards by the Lord *Lauderdale*, who had frequent accesses to his Majesty from the *Scots*, the Presbyterians, and the City of *London*, who knew there was nothing so fatal to them as a conjunction between the King and the Army. Out of all my observations I drew these conclusions, which I prosecuted to the best of my power : That his Majesty was concerned to come to a speedy issue with the Army ; that he might either agree with them, or discover that they intended not to agree with him ; and, in that case, that his Majesty should secure his escape, and in the mean time, that his Majesty should not give them the least colour of exception to his actions ; that, seeing the officers were more easily fixed to his Majesty, by a visible prospect of their interest, in case of a conjunction, I took the least pains with them, and applied myself to *Peters* and the *Adjutators*, who swayed their officers more than their officers commanded them ; and, it was more hard to satisfy them (being many) in point of interest, than their officers, who were few.

About ten days after my arrival at the Army, the contentions grew high and hot between them and the Presbyterian Party, in the House, (which was the major-part by much), and the City of *London* ; the one contending to have the Parliament purged of corrupt Members ; and the other, to have the Army removed farther from the City. This caused the Army's march from *Reading* to *Bedford*, and, consequently, his Majesty's remove, with his wonted guard, from *Causum* to *Wooburn*, a house of the Earl of *Bedford*, where I procured his Majesty a sight of the Army's Proposals, six or eight days before they were offered to him in publick. His Majesty was much displeased with them in general, saying, That, if they had a mind to close with him, they would never impose so hard terms upon him. I replied, That, if they had demanded less than they had done, I should have suspected them more than I now did, of intending not really to serve his Majesty, but only to abuse him ; since it was not likely that men, who had, through

The King peruses the proposals of the Army for his restoration, before they are publicly presented to him.

About the 25th of July, 1647.

through so great dangers and difficulties, acquired so great advantages, should ever sit-down with less than was contained in the Proposals ; and, on the other side, never was a Crown (that had been so near lost,) so cheaply recovered, as his Majesty's would be, if they agreed upon such terms. His Majesty was of another advice, and returned, That they could not subsist without him, and therefore he did not doubt but that he should see them very shortly be glad to condescend farther ; and then objected to three particular points of the Proposals. The first was, The exception of seven, not named, from pardon. The second, The excluding his Party from being eligible in the next ensuing Parliament. And the third, That though there was nothing against the Church-government established, yet there was nothing done to assert it. To these, I replied, That after his Majesty and the Army were accorded, it would be no impossible work to make them remit in the first point ; and, if he could not, when his Majesty was re-instated in his Throne, he might easily supply seven persons beyond the seas, in such sort as to make their banishment supportable to them. To the second ; That the next Parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the Kingdom ; and it would be a happiness to the King's Party, to have no voice in them. To the third, That the Law was security enough for the Church, and it was happy that men, who had fought against the Church, should be reduced (when they were superiors), not to speak against it. His Majesty broke from me with this expression, “ Well ! I shall see them glad ere long to accept more equal terms.” I now began to long impatiently for Mr. Ashburnham, as hoping he had some better to-picks for his Majesty ; and, within a few days after, he arrived, to his Majesty's great contentment as well as mine. His instructions referred to mine, which we were to prosecute jointly, I gave him presently all the light I had, which he seemed to embrace at first ; but, after he had discoursed more amply with his Majesty, I found him so far from crossing him, that he abounded in his Majesty's sense, and held afterwards this discourse with me ; “ That, for his part, he was always bred in the best company, and, therefore, could not converse with such senseless

The King objects to
three articles of
them.

Mr. John Ashburnham arrives in England, and confers with the King concerning them.

less fellows as the Agitators were ; that, if we could gain the officers sure to the King, there was no doubt, but they would be able to command their own Army, and, therefore, he was resolved to apply himself totally to them." And so he did ; and there grew immediately great familiarities between him and *Whalley*, (Captain of the Guard that waited on the King,) and then with *Cromwell* and *Ireton* ; and daily messages between his Majesty and the headquarters, which Mr. *Ashburnham* carried, and sometimes me with him, though I seldom knew the message ; at least he would have me believe I did not ; for he chose to speak apart with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, when I was present, alledging, that they would not speak freely to two at once. What, with the pleasure of having so concurring a second as Mr. *Ashburnham*, and what with the encouraging messages, which his Majesty had (by my Lord *Lauderdale*, and others) from the Presbyterian Party and the City of *London*, who pretended to despise the Army, and to oppose them to death, his Majesty seemed very much erected ; insomuch, that, when the proposals were solemnly sent to him, and his concurrence most humbly and earnestly desired, his Majesty (not only to the astonishment of *Ireton* and the rest, but even to mine) entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses ; saying, sometimes, that he would have no man to suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much as the Bill against the Lord *Strafford* ; (which, though most true, was unpleasant for them to hear;) That, he would have the Church established according to Law, by the Proposals. They replied, It was none of their work to do it ; that it was enough for them to wave the point, and they hoped, enough for his Majesty, since he had waved the Government itself in *Scotland*. His Majesty said, that he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, and repeated often, *You cannot be without me ; You will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you.* Many of the Army that were present, and wished well, (at least, as they pretended,) to the Agreement, looked wishfully, and with wonder, upon me and Mr. *Ashburnham* ; and I, as much as I durst, upon his Majesty, who would take no notice of it, until I was forced to step to him, and whisper in his ear ; *Sir, your Majesty speaks as if you had some secret*

The King rejects,
with disdain, the
proposals of the
Army. August 2,
1647.

secret strength and power that I do not know of; and, since your Majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it frow these men too. His Majesty soon re-collected himself, and began to sweeten his former discourse with great power of language and behaviour. But it was now of the latest. For Colonel Rainsborough, (who, of all the Army, seemed the least to wish the accord,) in the middle of the Conference stole-away, and posted to the Army, which he inflamed against the King, with all the artificial malice he had. As soon as the Conference ended, I followed him to *Bedford*, where the Army then lay. I met with some of the Adjutators, who asked me what his Majesty meant, to entertain their Commissioners so harshly? I told them that *Rainsborough* had delivered it amiss to them, as, indeed, he had, by adding to the truth. I then desired a meeting with *Ireton*, and the rest of the superiour officers, and obtained it, and there asked them, if the King should grant the Proposals, what would ensue? They replied, they would offer them to the Parliament: But, if they refused them, what would they do then? They replied, they would not tell me. I then returned, that I would tell them, I would lose no more time with them: For, if there came of Proposals nothing but the propounding, I could then propound as well as they. They all replied, That it was not for them to say, directly, what they would do against the Parliament; but, intimated, that they did not doubt of being able to prevail with the Parliament. When I appeared not fully satisfied with this reply, *Rainsborough* spoke-out in these words, *If they will not agree, we will make them*; to which the whole company assented. But we had a harder work with his Majesty, who was so far from granting, that he sent for Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Mr. *Jeffry Palmer*, and Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, his learned Counsel, men, indeed, of great abilities and integrity; to these were added Mr. *Philip Warwick*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, Mr. *Denham*, Sir *Richard Ford*, Dr. *Gough* (who came-over with Mr. *Ashburnham* from France,) Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and myself. We easily answered the Proposals, both in point of Law and Reason. But we had to do with what was stronger.

Some of the Agitators of the Army are disgusted at the King's harsh manner of rejecting their Proposals of Peace.

The King employs several able Lawyers and Clergymen to justify to the Army his refusal to consent to their Proposals.

But without success.

All this while there wanted not those that meditated a better understanding between the Parliament and the Army; but that not taking effect, the Army advanced nearer *London*, and lodged at *Windsor*, and his Majesty at *Stoke*. At this time, those that were supposed best inclined to his Majesty, in the Army, seemed much afflicted with his Majesty's backwardness to concur with the Army in the Proposals; and the rather, because they conceived great hopes, that, within few days, they should be masters of *London*, which they doubted might alter the temper of the Army towards the King. *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the rest of the superiour officers of the Army, knew that *London* would certainly be theirs, two days before they communicated it to the Army; and, therefore, sent an express to Mr. *Ashburnham*, and to me, to express to us that, since his Majesty would not yield to the Proposals, yet he should, at least, send a kind letter to the Army, before it were commonly known that *London* would submit. We caused a meeting of the above-named persons at *Windsor*, where the letter was immediately drawn: but his Majesty would not sign it, till after three or four several debates; which lost one whole day's time, if not more. Mr. *Ashburnham* and I went with it, at last, and, upon the way met with messages to hasten it. But, before we came to *Syon*, the Commissioners from *London* were arrived, and our letter was out of season; for, though his Majesty was ignorant of the success, when he signed the letter, yet, coming after it was known, it lost both its grace and its efficacy. All that the officers could do, they did; which was, whilst the Army was in the Act of Thanksgiving to God for their success, to propose, that they should no be elevated with it, but keep still to their former engagement to his Majesty, and, once more, solemnly vote the Proposals; which was accordingly done. The next day the Army marched into *London*, and some few of the Presbyterian Party, that had been most active against the Army, disappeared. From *London*, the Head-quarters came to *Putney*, and his Majesty was lodged at *Hampton-Court*. Mr. *Ashburnham* had, daily, some message or another from the King, to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who had enough to do both in the Parliament and Council of the Army,

The Army marches into *London*, August 6, 1647. And they again vote to adhere to their Proposals to the King. And the King is lodged at *Hampton-Court*.

Army, the one abounding with Presbyterians, the other with Levellers, and both really jealous that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had made a private compact and bargain with the King; *Lilburn*, printing books, weekly, to that effect: and Sir *Lewis Dives*, afterwards, acknowledged to me, that, being his fellow-prisoner, he had daily endeavoured to possess him with that opinion; of which, although, he were not persuaded himself, yet he judged it for the King's service, to divide *Cromwell* and the Army. On the other side, the Presbyterians were no less confident of their surmises; and, amongst them, *Cromwell* told me, that my Lady *Carlisle* affirmed, that I had said to her Ladyship, that he was to be Earl of *Essex*, and Captain of the King's Guards. I had the honour to be well-known to her Ladyship, but forbore, contrary to my duty and inclination, to wait on her, for fear of giving any umbrage to the Army, she being of the contrary Party; but, having received several messages from her Ladyship, by my Lady *Newport* and others, I waited on her. I was not long there, before *Arpin* came into her chamber, who was an Adjutator, and was sent for, as I conceived, to be an eye-witness that I was in my lady *Carlisle*'s chamber, though nothing passed between us but general discourses; and I should have lyed if I had said anything to that purpose. But these and the like discourses made great impression on the Army; to which Mr. *Ashburnham*'s secret and long conferences contributed not a little; insomuch, that the Adjutators, who were wont to complain that *Cromwell* went too slow towards the King, began now to suspect that he had gone too fast, and left them behind him: from whence there were frequent complaints in the council of the Army, of the intimacy Mr. *Ashburnham* and I had in the Army; that *Cromwell*'s and *Ireton*'s door was open to us when it was shut to them; that they knew not why Malignants should have so much countenance in the army, and liberty with the King. These discourses, both in publick and private, *Cromwell* seemed highly to be offended-with; and, when he could carry any thing to his Majesty's advantage amongst the Adjutators, could not rest until he had made us privately partakers of it; but withal he told Mr. *Ashburnham* and me, that, if he were an honest man, he had said enough

The Agitators of the Army grow continually more and more jealous of the ambitious designs of *Cromwell*.

of the sincerity of his intentions; if he were not, nothing was enough, and therefore conjured us, as we tendered his Majesty's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but send privately to him, the suspicions of him being grown to that height, that he was afraid to lie in his own quarters. But this had no operation upon *Mr. Ashburnham*, who alledged, that we must shew them the necessity of agreeing with the King from their own disorders.

The Parliament again offers to the king propositions of Peace. September 7, 1647.

But the king rejects them. Sept. 13, 1647.

The greater part of the Army grows thereupon indisposed towards the king, and jealous of the ambitious designs of Cromwell.

About three weeks after the Army had entered *London*, the *Scots* had prevailed with the Parliament for another solemn address to his Majesty, which was performed in the old propositions of *Newcastle*, some particulars in respect to the *Scots* only excepted. The Army was very unwilling that the King should grant these Propositions, of which the King advised with all the persons above-mentioned; who were all of opinion, that it was unsafe for his Majesty to close with the Enemies of the Army whilst he was in it. And therefore he followed the advice of all the leading part of the Independent Party both in the Parliament and Army, by refusing the articles, and desiring a personal Treaty; whereof his Majesty thought the Proposals of the Army a better ground than the articles, though there were something in them to which his Majesty could not consent. We gave our friends in the army a sight of this answer the day before it was sent, with which they seemed infinitely satisfied, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to procure a personal Treaty, and to my understanding performed it: for both *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, with *Vane* and all their Friends, seconded, with great resolution, this desire of his Majesty. But, contrary to their and all mens expectations, they found a most general opposition, and that this Message of his Majesty had confirmed the jealousy of their private agreement with the King; so that the more it was urged by *Cromwell*, &c. the more it was rejected by the rest, who looked on them as their betrayers. The suspicions were so strong in the House, that they lost almost all their friends there; and the army, that lay then about *Putney*, were no less ill-satisfied: for there came-down shoals every day from *London* of the Presbyterians.

Presbyterian and Levelling Parties that fomented these jealousies ; insomuch that *Cromwell* thought himself, or pretended it, not secure in his own quarters. The Adjutators now begin to change their discourses, and complained openly in their councils both of the King and the Malignants about his Majesty. One of the first they voted from him was myself. They said, that, since his Majesty had not accepted of their proposals, they were not obliged any farther to them ; that they were obliged to consult their own safety, and the good of the Kingdom, and to use such means towards both as they should find rational : and, because they met with strong opposition from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and most of the superiour officers, and some even of the Adjutators, they had many private solemn meetings in *London*, where they humbled themselves before the Lord, and sought his good pleasure, and desired that he would be pleased to reveal it to his Saints, which they interpret those to be who are most violent or zealous (as they call it) in the work of the Lord. These found it apparent that God had, on the one side, hardened the King's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not passing the proposals, whereby they were absolved from offering them any more ; and, on the other side, the Lord had led Captivity captive, and put all things under their feet, and therefore they were bound to finish the work of the Lord, which was, to alter the Government, according to their first design : and to this end they resolved to seize the King's Person, and take him out of *Cromwell's* hands. These proceedings struck so great a terror into *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, with others of the officers, that we supposed best-affected to us, that they were of opinion the Army should be drawn to a rendezvouz, and their endeavours used to engage them once more to adhere to the proposals. As soon as the tumultuous part of the Army had notice of it, they resolved, before the day of the rendezvouz, to seize the King's Person. I had been now about three weeks removed from the King, and about a fortnight after me *Mr. Ashburnham*. *Mr. Leg* still remained with his Majesty, and waited in his bed-chamber.

About eight or ten days before the time appointed for the drawing-together of the Army, *Mr. Ashburnham* invited

And a great part of it resolves to seize the king's person, and put him to death, as the criminal author of all the blood-shed and misery of the late civil war.

The king resolves to endeavour to make his escape from Hampton-Court.

About the 3d of November, 1647.

vited me from *London*, and Mr. *Leg* from *Hampton-Court*, to dine with him on a Sunday at *Ditton*, being the other side of the water. They were both there long before me, and I a good while before dinner. But just as dinner was ready to come-in, they took me aside in the room, and told me that his Majesty was really afraid of his life by the tumultuous part of the Army, and was resolved to make his escape; and that they had order from his Majesty to command me in his name to wait on his Majesty in his intended escape. I replied, It was a great honour, and accompanied with not a little danger; but withal it was new to me, and therefore nothing occurred to my thoughts at present but two things: the first was, that I thought it absolutely necessary that Mr. *Ashburnham*, who kept the King's money, should immediately employ his servant *Dutton*, who was well-acquainted with the coast, to provide three or four ships in several ports, to be ready in all events; the second, that I also might receive his Majesty's commands immediately from himself. To the first they seemed to concur; but nothing was ever done in it: which to this day amazes me. The other was effected, and I went the *Tuesday* night after to *Hampton-Court* privately, being introduced a back way by Mr. *Leg*. The King told me he was afraid of his life, and that he would have me assist in person in his escape. I asked, which way his Majesty would go? his Majesty replied, that both Mr. *Ashburnham*, who was present, and I, should know that by *Will. Leg.* The *Monday* before, Mr. *Ashburnham* and I went to the head-quarters, to desire passes to return beyond the seas; and by the way back he told me, that the *Scots* had much tampering with the King, but could come to no agreement; that they would fain have his Majesty out of the Army, and to that end had much augmented his just fears; and therefore asked me what I thought of his Majesty's coming privately to *London*, and appearing in the House of Lords? I replied, Very ill; because the Army were absolutely masters both of the City and Parliament, and would undoubtedly seize his Majesty; and, if there should be but two swords drawn in the scuffle, they would accuse his Majesty of beginning a new war, and proceed with him accordingly. He then asked me what I thought of

of the *Isle of Wight*? I replied, “better than of *London*; though I knew nothing of it, nor who was *Governour*. ” He replied, that he had had some communication with the *Governour* of late, and conceived good hopes of him, but had no assurance from him. I then asked him, Why his Majesty would not make his retreat secure by quitting the kingdom? He replied, that he would not, for two reasons; the first was, that the rendezvous would be a week after, and his Majesty was not willing to quit the Army before that were passed; because, if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their publick engagement; and, if they were overtapped, they must apply themselves to the King for their own security. The second was, that the *Scots* were in Treaty with the King, and very near to a conclusion of it; which they would never come to, but out of their desire to separate the King and the Army; that, if the King went to them before the conclusion of it, they would hold him to impossible conditions; and therefore his Majesty was resolved to conclude with them first. In which advice Mr. *Ashburnham* was most positive, and told me often, “that the world would laugh at us, if we quitted the Army before we had agreed with the *Scots*; “and let them do so, replied I, provided his Majesty be secure.” On the *Wednesday*, as I take it, we had orders to send spare horses to *Sutton in Hampshire*, a place where I never had been; and the *Thursday* after, his Majesty, with *Will. Leg*, came out at the closing of the evening, and immediately went towards *Oatlands*, and so through the forest; where his Majesty was our guide: but we lost our way, (though he were well-acquainted with it,) the night being excessively dark and stormy. When his Majesty first sat-out, he discoursed long with Mr. *Ashburnham*, and at last called me to him, and complained very much of the *Scots* Commissioners, who were the first that presented his dangers to him, and offered him Expedients for his escape: but, when he proposed to make use of those they had offered, they were full of objections to them; saying, that his coming into *London* was desperate, his hiding in *England* chimerical, and his escape to *Jersey* prevented, because my ship was discovered; which particular, the King said, my Lord Lanerick had affirmed. The King thereupon asked me, if I had ever a ship ready? I answered, that I neither had, nor

The King escapes
from Hampton-
court about eight or
nine o'clock in the
evening of the 10th
of November, 1647.

could have, any, having not one penny of money; that I had desired Mr. *Ashburnham* earnestly to make provision, but knew not what he had done in it. The King then asked me, what I thought might be the reason they should say that I had one, and that it had been discovered, if I had none? I replied, It was hard for me to affirm what was their meaning in that particular, or, in general, in their manner of proceeding with his Majesty: but I did conjecture, that they were very desirous to have his Majesty out of the Army; which made them present his dangers to him so frequently as they had done: and, in the next place, they desired that his Majesty should put himself again into their hands, but wanted confidence, or believed it would be ineffectual, to move it directly to his Majesty, because they had given so ill an account of him, when he was last with them; and therefore they objected against their own Expedients of either coming openly into *London*, or of obscuring himself in *England*. And, because they could find no other reason against his going to *Jersey*, they pretended that I had a Ship which had been discovered; believing, perhaps, that I was totally separated from his Majesty, and so should not have had any opportunity of contradicting it; and by this means his Majesty, being excluded from all other means of escaping, should have been necessitated to make use of *Scotland*. His Majesty laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said, "I think thou art in the right," and believed it afterward more confidently than I did. I then asked his Majesty "which way he would go;" his Majesty replied, "that he hoped to be at *Sutton* three hours "before day, and that, while our horses were making ready, "we would consider what course to take." But, what by the length and badness of the road, the darkness of the night, and our going at least ten miles out of our way, it was day-break when we came to our Inn at *Sutton*; where our servant came out to us, and told us there was a Committee of the County then sitting about the Parliament's business.

His Majesty thereupon sent for our horses out, and we continued our way towards *Southampton*; and his Majesty resolved, that we four should walk down the next hill with our horses in our hands, and, as we walked, consult what we were to do. Then I inquired if Mr. *Ashburnham*

burnham had gotten a ship, and, finding he had not, I proposed going farther West, where I was sure I had some friends would favour our escape: and here again I found the two reasons prevail, of not leaving the army before the rendezvous was passed, and the treaty with the Scots finished. His Majesty resolved (and that for the first time, for aught I could then discover) to go for the *Isle of Wight*, whither he ordered Mr. *Ashburnham* and me to go with these Instructions, by word of mouth, to the Governour *Hammond*, and return to his Majesty, who went with *Will. Leg* to a house of my Lord *Southampton*, at *Titchfield*; that we should carry him a Copy of the Letter his Majesty left at *Hampton-Court*, and of two Letters sent to him, one from *Cromwell*, the other without a name. *Cromwell's* and the other Letter contained great apprehension and fears of the ill-intentions of the Levelling party in the Army and City against his Majesty; and that from *Cromwell* added, that, in prosecution thereof, a new Guard was the next day to be put upon his Majesty of that party. His Majesty's letter contained his distrust of the disorderly part of the Army, and his necessity thereupon of providing for his own safety, which he would so do as not to desert the interest of the Army: that, in order thereunto, we should let the Governour know, that of all the Army his Majesty had made choice of him to put himself upon, as being a person of good extraction, and one, that, though he had been engaged against him in the war, yet it had been prosecuted by him without any animosity to his person, to which he had been informed he had no aversion: only his Majesty, that he might not surprize him, thought fit to send us before to advertise him, and to desire his promise to protect his Majesty and his servants to the best of his power; and, if it should happen that he might not be able to do it, then the Governour should oblige himself to leave us in as good a condition as he found us, that is, suffer us to make our escape. With these instructions we parted: but, before I had gone ten yards, I returned to his Majesty, and said, I had no knowledge of the Governour, and therefore could not tell whether he might not detain us in the Island; and therefore advised his Majesty, if we came not to him by the next day, that his Majesty should think no

The King resolves to
go to the Isle of
Wight.

more

more of us, but secure his own escape. His Majesty thank'd me for the caution, and pursued his way, and Mr. Ashburnham and I ours. The first thing we resolved was, that, since his Majesty went towards the east side of the island, that we would go-on to the west, to a place called *Limington*, where Mr. Ashburnham told me there was a short passage over. By the way, I asked Mr. Ashburnham if he had any acquaintance with *Hammond* the Governour. He replied, "not very much," yet he had lately had some discourse with him upon the highways near *Kingston*, and found him not very averse to his Majesty; but that which made him conceive the best hopes of him was, the character *Mr. Denham*, and the commendations my Lady *Isabella Thynn* gave of him.

We came to *Limington* that night, but could not pass, by reason of a violent storm that blew. The next morning we got-over, and had then eight miles to the castle of *Carisbroke*, where the Governour dwelt. We came thither after ten in the morning, and found the Governour was newly gone-out towards *Newport*. When we overtook him, Mr. Ashburnham desired me to open the matter to him, which he would afterwards second himself. After I had saluted him, I took him aside, and delivered our message to him word for word. But he grew so pale, and fell into such a trembling, that I did really believe he would have fallen off his horse: which trembling continued with him at least an hour after, in which he broke-out into passionate and distracted expressions, sometimes saying, "O gentlemen! you have undone me by bringing the King into the island,—if, "at least, you have brought him; and, if you have not, "pray let him not come: for, what between my duty "to his Majesty, and my gratitude for this fresh obli- "gation of confidence, on the one hand, and my observ- "ing my trust to the army, on the other, I shall be "confounded." Other while he would talk to a quite contrary purpose. I remember, that, to settle him the better, I said, that, "God be thanked, there was no harm done; "that his Majesty intended a favour to him and his poste- "rity, in giving him an occasion to lay a great obligation "upon him, and such as was very consisting with his re- "lation to the army, who had so solemnly engaged them- "selves

"selves to his Majesty : but, if he thought otherwise, his "Majesty would be far from imposing his person upon "him." To that he replied, that then, if his Majesty should come to any mischance, what would the army and kingdom say to him, that had refused to receive him? To this I replied, that he did not refuse him, who was not come to him. He returned, that he must needs know where his Majesty was, because he knew where we were. I told him he was never the nearer for my part. He then began a little to sweeten, and to wish that his Majesty would have reposed himself absolutely upon him, because it would have been much the better for both. I then went to *Mr. Ashburnham*, and told him, that this Governor was not a man for our purpose, and that for my part, I would never give my consent that his Majesty should trust him. *Mr. Ashburnham* acknowledged that he did not like him ; yet, on the other side, he much feared what would become of his Majesty, if he should be discovered before he had made his point, and made appear what his intention was ; for then he would be accused of what his enemies pleased to lay upon him. I replied, that, if we returned not that night, his Majesty would be gone to sea. I perceived *Mr. Ashburnham* liked not that so well, and therefore took the Governor to task apart, and, after some conference, they came both to me ; and the Governor said, that, since we desired it, he would say, that, because his Majesty, he believed, had made choice of him, as a person of honour and honesty, to lay this great trust upon, therefore he would not deceive his Majesty's expectation. I replied, that expression was too general, and did not come home to our instructions. He then made many discourses not much to the purpose, during which time he kept himself between *Mr. Ashburnham* and me ; and when he found me still unsatisfied, he added, that I was harder to content than *Mr. Ashburnham*, and he did believe that his Majesty would be much easier pleased than either, and thereupon concluded that I should go into the castle, and that *Mr. Ashburnham* should take his horse and go to the King, and tell his Majesty what he said. I embraced the motion most readily, and immediately went over the bridge into the castle,

castle, though I had the image of the gallows very perfectly before me. *Mr. Ashburnham* went, I believe, with a better heart to horse ; but before he was gone half a flight shot, the Govenour (being before the castle-gate,) called to him, and had a conference of at least a quarter of an hour with him, to what purpose I never knew until I came into *Holland*, where a gentleman of good worth and quality told me, that the Govenour affirmed afterwards in *London*, and in many places, that he then offered to *Mr. Ashburnham*, that I should go and he should stay, as believing his Majesty to be less willing to expose him than me, but that *Mr. Ashburnham* absolutely refused. Whatever passed between them, I am sure they came both back to me ; and the Govenour putting himself between us said, that he would say that, which he was sure ought to content any reasonable man, which was, that he did believe his Majesty relied on him, as on a person of honour and honesty, and therefore he did engage himself to us, to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honour and honesty. Before I could make any, *Mr. Ashburnham* made this reply, *I will ask no more.* The Govenour then added, let us then all go to the King, and acquaint him with it. *Mr. Ashburnham* answered, with all my heart. I then broke from the Govenour, who held me in his hand, and went to *Mr. Ashburnham*, and said, what do you mean, to carry this man to the King before you know whether he will approve of this undertaking or no ? undoubtedly you will surprise him. *Mr. Ashburnham* said nothing but, *I'll warrant you :* and so you shall, said I ; for you know the King much better than I do, and therefore when we shall come where the King is, I assure you I will not see him before you have satisfied his Majesty concerning your proceeding. Well ; he would take that upon him. I then desired he would not let the Govenour carry any other person with him, that in all events we might the more easily secure him; which he consented-to. Nevertheless, when we came to *Cous Castle*, where we were to take boat, *Hammond* took *Basket*, (the Govenour of that castle) along with him ; and, when I complained of it to *Mr. Ashburnham*, he answered, “ It was no matter; for that we should

should be able to do well enough with them two." When came to *Titchfield*, my Lord of Southampton's House, *Mr. Ashburnham*, according to his promise, went up to the King, and left me below with *Hammond* and *Basket*. I afterwards understood, that when *Mr. Ashburnham* had given an account of our message and the Governour's answer, and came to say that he was come along with us to make good what he had promised, his Majesty struck himself upon the breast, and said, "What! have you brought *Hammond* with you? O, you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring." *Mr. Ashburnham* replied, "that, if he mis-trusted *Hammond*, he would undertake to secure him." His Majesty said, "I understand you well enough: but the world would not excuse me. For if I should follow that counsel, it would be said, and believed, that he [*Hammond*] had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. No, it is too late now to think of any thing, but going through the way you have forced upon me, and to leave the issue to God." But, when his Majesty began anew to wonder that he could make so great an oversight, *Mr. Ashburnham*, having no more to reply, wept bitterly. In the mean time *Hammond* and *Basket* were so impatient at this long stay below in the court, that I was forced to send a gentleman of my Lord Southampton, to desire that his Majesty and *Mr. Ashburnham* would remember that we were below. About half an hour after, we were sent-for up; but before *Hammond* and *Basket* kissed his hand, his Majesty took me aside and said, "Sir John Berkley, I hope you are not so passionate as *Jack Ashburnham*: do you think you have followed my directions?" I answered, "No, indeed, Sir; but it is none of my fault, as *Mr. Ashburnham* can tell you, if he please; I have exposed my life to prevent it. And then I told his Majesty the sum of what had passed, and particularly of my being a prisoner in the castle, and of *Mr. Ashburnham's* coming-away without me; which *Mr. Ashburnham* had omitted. His Majesty judged that it was now too late to boggle, and therefore received *Hammond* cheerfully, who promised more to his Majesty than he had done to us: and we all went over that night to the *Cows*. In the morning his Majesty went with the Governour to *Carisbroke*, and was met in the way, by divers gentlemen

The King is received into Carisbrook castle by Colonel Hammond, the Governour of it.

At the rendezvous of the Army the superiour officers quell the mutiny of the Levellers. Nov. 13, 1647.

gentlemen of the Island, from whom we learnt, that we were more fortunate than we were aware of; for the whole Island was unanimously for the King, except the Governours of the castles, and *Hammond's* captains; that there were but twelve old men in the castle; and that they had served under the Earl of *Portland*, and were all well-affected; that *Hammond* might be easily gained, if not more easily forced, the castle being day and night full of Loyal subjects and servants of his Majesty; and his Majesty having daily liberty to ride abroad, might chuse his own time of quitting the island. Indeed, not only his Majesty, and all that were about him, but those that were at a further distance approved by their letters, this resolution of his Majesty. Both his Majesty and Mr. *Ashburnham* attackt the Governour, and, I think, very prosperously; for both he and his captains seemed to desire nothing of his Majesty, but that he would send a civil message to the Houses, signifying his propension to Peace; which was done to their satisfaction. Three days after our coming to the island, a Messenger was sent by the Parliament, for Mr. *Ashburnham*, Sir *John Berkley*, and Mr. *Leg*: but the Governour refused to let us go. The fifth day after our arrival, we heard that in the rendezvouz of the Army, the superiour officers had carried it, and that one or two soldiers were shot, and eleven more of the mutinying levellers made prisoners. This made us bless God for the resolution of coming into the island: and now Mr. *Asburnham* and the Governour were frequent and fervent in private conferences, and (as I have heard) came to particulars of accommodation for him, in case of the King's recovery: Insomuch that now the Governour seemed sollicitous of nothing so much, as that the Army should resume its wonted discipline, and clear themselves of their importunate and impertinent Adjutators, of whose authority in the Army he had never approved; and therefore he sent his Chaplain immediately to the Army, to conjure the superiour officers to make use of their success upon the Adjutators. Two or three days after, he moved earnestly, that his Majesty would send one of us three to the Army with colourable letters to

* This rendezvous of the army was held on the 13th of November, 1647, between Hertford and Ware. See Rushworth's Historical Collections abridged and improved, in six volumes octavo; Vol, 6, page 298.

the

the General; but that he should write with confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to whom he [the Governour] would also write: and he did accordingly write to them, conjuring them by their engagement, by their interest, by their honour, and their consciences, to come to a speedy close with the King, and not to expose themselves still to the fantastick giddiness of the Adjutators. My two comrades were very well contented, that I should go this voyage; which I did, not without some apprehension of the event, as to my own particular. His Majesty charged me to require *Will. Ashburnham*, to provide a ship for him, upon the coast of *Sussex*: But Mr. *Ashburnham* thought not fit, that I should be furnished with money for that, or for my journey. I desired that, in case the Army should not intend well, I might have commission to the *Scots*; but Mr. *Ashburnham* did not think it fit. I then took a Cousin-German of mine with me, one Mr. *Henry Berkley*, son to Sir *Henry Berkley*, and procured a pass from the Governour of the *Cows*, for his return within four or five days; which had been otherwise forgotten. Between *Bagshot* and *Windsor*, (then the head-quarters) I met *Traughton*, the Governour's Chaplain, who told me he could carry no good news back, the Army being as yet come to no resolution as to the King. As I was half-way between *Bagshot* and *Windsor*, *Cornet Joyce* (a great Adjutator, and he that had taken the King from *Holmby*,) overtook me. He seemed much to wonder that I durst adventure to come to the Army. Upon my discourses with him, I found, that it had been discoursed among the Adjutators, "whether, for their justification, the King ought not to be brought to a trial;" which he held in the affirmative: not (he said) that he would have one hair of his head to suffer, but that they might not bear the blame of the War. I was quickly weary of his discourse; but I perceived he would not leave me, until he saw me in *Windsor*, and knew where I lodged. About an hour after, I went to the General's quarters, and found a general meeting of the officers there. After an hour's waiting I was admitted, and, after I had delivered my compliment, and letters to the General, I was desired to withdraw; and having attended half an hour, I was called-in. The General looked very severely upon me, and, after his manner, said, "That they were

Sir John Berkley carries letters from the King to Sir Thomas Fairfax, (the General of the Army,) and to Cromwell and Ireton.

And is coldly received by them.

“ were the Parliament’s Army, and therefore could not say
 “ any thing to his Majesty’s motion of peace, but must re-
 “ fer those matters to them ; to whom they would send his
 “ Majesty’s Letters.” I then looked about, upon *Cromwell*
 and *Ireton*, and the rest of my acquaintance ; who saluted
 me very coldly, and had their countenances quite changed
 towards me, and shewed me *Hammond’s* letter, which I
 had delivered to them, and smiled with much disdain upon
 it. I saw that *that* was no place for me, and therefore
 went to my lodging ; where I staid from four until six, and
 none of my acquaintance came to me ; which appeared
 sad enough. At last I sent my servant out, and wished
 him to see if he could light upon any of my acquaintance.
 At last he met with one that was a General Officer, who
 whispered in his ear, and bad him tell me, that he would
 meet me at twelve at night, in a Close, behind the *Garter*
 Inn. I came at the hour, and he not long after. I asked him
 what news ? and, he replied, “ None good ;” and then con-
 tinued this discourse. “ You know, that I and my friend
 “ engaged ourselves to you ; that we were zealous for an
 “ Agreement. And, if the rest were not so, we were
 “ abused ; that, if there was an intention to cozen us, it
 “ would not be long hid from us ; that, whatever we should
 “ discover, should not be secret to you ; that we, since the
 “ tumults of the Army, did mistrust *Cromwell* ; and, not
 “ long after, *Ireton* ; whereof I informed you. I come
 “ now to tell you, that we mistrust neither ; but know
 “ them, and all of us, to be the archeſt villains in the
 “ world. For we are resolved, notwithstanding our en-
 “ gagements, to destroy the King and his Posterity ; to
 “ which end, *Ireton* made two Propositions, this after-
 “ noon ; one, that you should be sent prisoner to *London* ;
 “ the other, that none should speak with you upon pain
 “ of death : and I do hazard my life now by doing of it.
 “ The way that is intended to ruin the King, is to send
 “ eight hundred, of the most disaffected of the Army, to
 “ secure his person, (as believing him not so now,) and
 “ then bring him to a trial ; and I dare think no farther.
 “ This will be done in ten days ; and, therefore, if the
 “ King can escape, let him do it, as he loves his life.”

I then inquired what was the reason of this horrid
 change ;

Notwithstanding the suppression of the late mutiny at the Rendezvous of the Army, the Levelling Party soon afterwards prevails, and *Cromwell* and *Ireton* comply with them, and resolve to destroy the King.

change ; what had the King done to deserve it : He said,
" Nothing ; and that to our grief : for, we would leap
for joy, if we could have any advantage against him. I
have pleaded hard against this Resolution this day ; but
have been laughed-at for my pains." I then said, " Well,
but still, why is this horrid perfidiousnes resolved-on, since
there appears no occasion for it, the officers being superiour
at the rendezvous ? He answered, " that he could not tell
certainly ; but he conceived this to be the ground of it :
" That, though one of the Mutineers was shot at the late
" Rendezvous, and eleven made prisoners, and the rest,
" in appearance, overquelled, yet they were so far from
" being so indeed, that there have been with *Cromwell*
" and *Ireton*, one after another, two third parts of the
" Army to tell them, that, though they were certainly to
" perish in the attempt, they would leave nothing unes-
sayed, to bring the Army to their sense ; and, if all
failed, they would make a division in the Army, and
join with any that would assist in the destruction of
their opposers. *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, therefore, argued
thus ; If the Army divide, the greatest part will join
with the Presbyterians, and will, in all likelihood, pre-
vail to our ruin ; and we shall be forced to make appli-
cations to the King, wherein we shall rather crave than
offer any assistance ; and, when his Majesty shall give
it us, and afterwards have the good fortune to prevail,
if he shall then pardon us, it is all we can pretend-to,
and more than we can promise ourselves ; and, there-
upon, concluded, " That, if we cannot bring the Army
to our sense, we must go to theirs ; a schism being evi-
dently destructive." And, theretore, *Cromwell* bent all
his thoughts to make his peace with the Party that was
most opposite to the King ; in which *Peters* was instru-
mental. He then acknowledged, (as he had formerly done,
upon the like occasion) that the Glories of the World
had so dazzled his eyes, that he could not discern clearly
the great Works the Lord was doing ; and said, that he
was now resolved to humble himself, and desire the pray-
ers of the Saints, that God would be pleased to forgive
him his Self-seeking. These Arts, together with comfort-
able messages to the prisoners (that they should be of good

N. B.

"cheer; for no harm should befall them, since it had pleased
 "God to open his eyes)—perfected his Reconciliation;
 "and he was re-instated in the Fellowship of the Faithful." I then asked this Gentleman, whether I should not endeavour to deliver my letters from the King to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*: he replied, "By all means, lest they should mistrust that I had discovered them.*"

As

* The account here given by Sir John Berkley of Cromwell's abandoning the treaty which he had been carrying-on with the King for more than five months, (from about the beginning of June to the middle of November, 1647,) for restoring him to the exercise of his royal authority upon the terms that had been proposed to him by the Army, and which had been drawn-up by Commissary-General Ireton, (Cromwell's Son-in-Law,) is so clear and circumstantial, and supported by the testimony of so many respectable persons who were concerned in the management of it, that it seems highly deserving of credit, without seeking any other motive for this change of his conduct towards the King besides the fear of losing his influence over the army if he should persist in his endeavours to restore the King to his authority after a great part of the army had resolved to act against him. But it has been supposed by some writers, that *Cromwell* had also another reason for abandoning the King's Interest, and concurring with the party of the Army that was adverse to him, which arose from a discovery which he had made (by means of a letter from the King to his Queen *Henrietta Maria*, who was then in France, which he had intercepted), that the King was resolved, when he should be restored to his authority, to break all the promises of favour which he had made to *Cromwell* and other Officers of the Army in the course of the Negotiation then on foot, and to punish them as *Rebels*. Concerning this Letter Mr. Seward, in the first volume of *Anecdotes of distinguished Persons*, in four volumes, octavo, (the fifth edition, published in the year 1804, for Cadell and Davies in the Strand,) in Page, 287, 288, and 289, has the following Passage :

"This unfortunate Monarch most probably met—with his very severe fate in consequence of his Duplicity. *Cromwell* declared that he could not trust him. His fate is a striking instance of the truth of the maxim of Menander, which is thus translated by Grotius :

*In re omni conducibile est quovis tempore
 Verum proloquier. Idque in vita spondeo
 Securitatis esse partem maximam.*

At every time, and upon all occasions,
 'Tis right to speak the truth. And this I vow'd
 In every various state of human life,
 The greatest part of our security.

Of

As soon as I came to my lodging, I dispatched my cousin, *Harry Berkley*, to the Isle of *Wight*, with two letters; the one containing a general relation and doubtful judgement of things in the Army, which I intended should be shewn to the *Governour*; the other was in cypher, wherein I gave a particular account of this conference, naming the person, and concluding with a most passionate supplication to his Majesty, to meditate nothing but his immediate escape. The next morning I sent Colonel *Cook* to *Cromwell*, to let him know that I had letters and instructions to him from the King. He sent me word, by the same messenger, that he durst not see me, it being very dangerous to us both, and bid me be assured, that he would serve his Majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that I would not expect that I should perish for his sake. As soon as I had this answer, I took horse for *London*, with this resolution, "not to acquaint any man with the intentions of the Army, nor of his Majesty's intended escape;" which I presumed would be within few days, the wind serving, and the Queen having sent a ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly by her letters. The next

Of the letter which is said to have been the cause of the death of Charles, the Author of the "Richardsoniana" has preserved the following very curious account.

"Lord Bolingbroke told us* (June 12, 1742) that Lord + Oxford
"had often told him that he had seen, and had in his hands, an
"original letter that King Charles the First wrote to the Queen,
"in answer to one of her's that had been intercepted, and then for-
"warded to him; wherein she had reproached him for having made
"those villains too great concessions (viz. that Cromwell should be
"Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for life without account; that that
"kingdom should be in the hands of the party, with an army there
"kept which should know no head but the Lieutenant; that Cromwell
"should have a garter, &c.). That in this letter of the King's it was
"said that she should leave him to manage, who was better informed
"of all circumstances than she could be; but she might be entirely
"easy as to whatever concessions he should make them; for that he
"should know in due time how to deal with the *roues*, who, instead
"of a silken garter, should be fitted with a hempen cord. So the
"letter ended: which answer, as they waited for, so they intercept-
"ed accordingly; and it determined his fate. This letter Lord Ox-
"ford said he had offered 500l. for."

* "Mr. Pope, Lord Marchmont, and myself."

† "Harley, the second Earl of Oxford, the son of the Lord-Treasurer."

day, after my arrival at *London*, I had a letter from my Lord *Lanerick* and Lord *Lauderdale*, desiring a meeting with me, as presuming I had a Commission to treat with them from his Majesty. At our meeting they wondered to find the contrary. In my discourse with them, I happened to say, The last words his Majesty said to me, at parting, were, “That whatever I should undertake, “to any person, in his name, his Majesty would make it “good on the word of a King.” My Lord *Lanerick*, thereupon, replied, “that he would ask no more Commission “for me; believing it to be true, both, because I affirmed “it, and because he had received the like from his Majesty, “upon the like occasion.” Our first conference was interrupted through my Lord *Lauderdale*’s vehement indignation against the letter of Mr. *Ashburnham* to the Speaker, wherein he had this passage, *That he would not expose his Honour to the discretion of either Scot or Adjutator.* This letter was written by Mr. *Ashburnham*, before I left the island, upon the occasion of *Whalley*’s complaint to the House of Commons, that Mr. *Ashburnham* had broken his engagement with him at his first coming to *Wooburn*, wherein he undertook that the King should not leave the Army without his knowledge and consent. Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Leg* and I, objected hard against this expression; but Mr. *Ashburnham* liked it so well, that we could not make him depart from it. On the *Friday* after, we had another meeting, wherein we discoursed ourselves well towards an Agreement, and resolved, on *Monday* following, to conclude one way or other. The next day, being *Saturday*, I had a letter from Mr. *Ashburnham*, requiring me, in his Majesty’s name, to lay-by all other business whatsoever, and return instantly to his Majesty. I sent, therefore, my excuse to my Lords *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale*, and went that night out of town: which they took very ill, though they had no reason for it; for I would as willingly have excused my journey as they, as believing it was only to assist in his Majesty’s escape: for I had more than once observed, that, though Mr. *Ashburnham* were willing enough to appropriate employments of honour and profit, yet he was contented to communicate those of danger with his friends. The next morning

morning I was with his Majesty, who received me more graciously than ordinary, and told me that he had always a good opinion of my honesty and discretion, but was never so much confirmed in it, as by my dispatch from *Windsor*; for which his Majesty thanked me. After I had returned my acknowledgements for his Majesty's favour, I asked, if his Majesty approved the advice so well, why did he not follow it? Why was he still in the Island? where he could not long promise himself the liberty he now had, since there were forces designed, both by sea and land, to secure his person. His Majesty replied, that he would have a care of that time enough, and that he was to conclude with the *Scots* before he left the Kingdom, because from their desire to have him out of the Army's hands, they would listen to reason; whereas, if he went away before, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms: and in this opinion Mr. *Ashburnham* fully concurred with his Majesty. Against this, I argued the best I could; and, when I saw it was in vain, I desired his Majesty would dispatch this Treaty; for that his condition would admit no delays. His Majesty then ordered me to withdraw with Mr. *Ashburnham*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Leg*, to see how far his Majesty had gone in a Treaty with the *Scots*. This Treaty had been managed in *London* by Dr. *Gough*, who, in the Queen's name, conjured his Majesty to make his speedy escape, in all his letters, and in his own name, beseeched his Majesty not to insist upon nice terms in this present exigence of his affairs. But Mr. *Ashburnham* refined much upon several expressions of the Articles, that concerned the Covenant, and Church of *England*, (of which he was a great Professor,) and made many replies and alterations, and moved, that messenger be sent after messenger about it, and at last insisted, that the King should send for the *Scots* Commissioners to come to him. The next day I fell sick, what with my late journeying, and what with my vexation at this slow way of proceeding. The day following I went to his Majesty, and, as soon as I could be admitted, spoke to him in these words: *Sir, if you make no more haste than you do, I doubt you will not be able to secure your escape; and, therefore, I humbly beseech your*

Majesty to make two Papers or Draughts, the one containing the utmost extent of what your Majesty will give the Scots, and sign it; and, at the same time, send another, containing the least you will receive of them, and let the Scots sign, and deliver that to Dr. Gough, at the same time that he shall deliver your Majesty's concessions to them, and provide instantly for your safety. About the middle of this discourse with the King, Mr. Ashburnham came-in; and when I had ended, very graciously smiling, said, “That this Proposition would be good, if it were practicable; which it was not: for, though the *Scots* should agree to the substance of all the Articles, yet they and all men else, would have their several senses concerning the expressions; which must be satisfied, or no Agreement could be made: and, therefore he concluded, that the *Scots* were to be sent-for.” To this I replied, “that Mr. Ashburnham had reason, ordinarily speaking, for what he objected; but that his Majesty's danger made this a very extraordinary case.” His reasons carried it clear, and Sir William Flemming, or Mr. Mungo Murray, (for they both went and came by turns) was sent to invite the *Scots* Commissioners to come to his Majesty. The next day, after his departure, in the evening, the King called me to him, and told me, “I think you are a Prophet; for the *Scots* Commissioners at London have sent an express, desiring me to do the same thing, in effect, as you had moved; but that it was now too late: for they would be come-away, before another express could be gone out of the island towards them.” I replied, that our concurrence was accidental; for I had not the least intelligence with the *Scots* Commissioners: but, when I saw there was no remedy, I applied myself to what was the next best, I could. And, God knows, there was work enough for abler men than any of us were: for, at the same time that they, the *Scots*, were coming to the King, there were also Commissioners sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, with offers of a Treaty, upon condition that his Majesty, as a pledge of his future sincerity, would grant four Preliminary Bills, which they had brought ready drawn to his Majesty's hands. The First contained the Revocation of all Proclamations and Declarations against the Parliament; wherein his Majesty made himself

The Parliament
sends Commissioners to the King,
offering to treat with
him about his resto-
ration, provided he
will consent previ-
ously to pass four
bills which they pre-
sent to him.

November 26, 1647.
See above, page 108

himself expressly the author of the war. The Second, was, against the Lords that had been lately made by his Majesty ; that they should have no seat, or vote, in Parliament : and that neither his Majesty, nor his successors, should make any Lords for the future, without consent of Parliament ; which was to take-away the most unquestioned flower of his Crown, that of his being the sole fountain of Honour. The Third, was a Bill of exceptions from pardon, that included almost all of his Majesty's subjects that had any considerable estates. The Fourth, was an Act for the Militia; which embraced ten times more power than the Crown ever exercised, for the two Houses, raising men and money arbitrarily ; which was neither more nor less than dethroning of the King, and enslaving the people by a law, and, in effect, to give the King only the leave to discourse whose the glass windows should be. Nevertheless, the Title and Frontispiece of this vast design, was so modest, that many well-wishing persons were induced to believe, that, by all means, his Majesty ought to pass those Bills for many reasons ; but especially, because his enemies would deliver his Majesty to the World, as obstinate to his own and the Kingdom's ruin, if he should not accept this offer. To avoid both the inconveniences of granting or refusing, I drew an answer of the Treaty before it began ; That, if they would needs think it expedient to require so great hostages from his Majesty, they would not be backward to give some token to his Majesty of their reality, and then desired, at the same time, his Majesty should pass these four Bills, the Houses would pass four of his Majesty's drawing, which were all most popular, and such as they durst not pass, nor well deny : at least, if they did, they could with no colour of justice accuse his Majesty for not granting what was most unjust and most unpopular. The First, was a Bill, for payment of the Army, which contained their disbanding, as soon as they were paid. The Second, a period to the present Parliament. The Third, for restoring the King, Queen, and Royal Family, to their revenues. The Fourth, the settling of the Church-government without any coercive power ; and, in the mean-time, till such a Government were agreed-on, the old one to stand, without coercive

cive authority. I shewed this Answer first to Mr. Leg, then to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sheldon, who seemed to approve of the Expedient, and desired Mr. Ashburnham would acquaint the King with it. But I never heard any thing from his Majesty; and I was resolved never to have it obtruded lest I should appear fond of my own conceptions. By his Majesty's directions, an Answer was drawn, that gave a full denial; which was, in my judgement, very well penned. But I thought good penning did not signify much at that time, and therefore made this objection: It is very possible, that upon his Majesty's giving an absolute Negative, the Commissioners may have orders, to enjoin the Governour to look more strictly to his person; and so his intended escape would be prevented. His Majesty replied immediately, That he had thought of a remedy, which was, to deliver his Answer, sealed, to the Commissioners; and so left us. I could not hold from letting Mr. Ashburnham find my sense of this sorry expedient, by saying, that the Commissioners would either open the Answer, or conclude that, in effect, it was a denial, and proceed accordingly: but all was in vain. Some few days after, the English Commissioners arrived and delivered their message, and desired an Answer within three or four days. The next day, the Lords Lowden, Lanerick, Lauderdale, Chieley, and others, Commissioners for the Kingdom of Scotland, delivered a Protestation to the King, subscribed by them, against the message, as not according with their Covenant. From that time they began to treat seriously with his Majesty, but would not permit, that either Mr. Ashburnham or I should assist at the Treaty: for which I forgive them with all my heart; for it would have been very insecure for us to have had any communication with them at that time. At last, they came to such a conclusion, as they could get; not such a one as they desired from the King, but much short of it: which gave an advantage to the Lord Argyle, and the Clergy-party in Scotland, to oppose it, as not satisfactory: and, by that means, retarded the proceeding of Duke Hamilton, and that army, four months: Which was, consequently, the ruin of Langhorn in Wales, and of the forces in Kent and

The English Commissioners present their Bills to the King December 2, 1647.

The Scottish Commissioners treat also with the King; but their answers to them do not give them satisfaction.

and Essex, and of the Scots Army also, which consisted of twenty-four thousand men ; all which forces were the result of the Treaty ; which appears to me, if it had been sooner dispatched, to have been one of the most prudent Acts of his Majesty's Reign, however unprosperous. When the time was come, that the King was to deliver his Answer, his Majesty sent for the English Commissioners, and, before he delivered his Answer, asked my Lord Denbigh (who was the Chief Commissioner,) whether they had power to alter any substantial, or circumstantial, part of their Message ; and, when they replied, "that they had not," his Majesty delivered his Answer to the Lord Denbigh, sealed. After they had withdrawn a while, my Lord Denbigh returned with the rest, and seemed offended with his Majesty for delivering the Message sealed, and expressed his indignation in harsher terms than one Gentleman ought to use to another. After long expostulations, his Majesty was persuaded to open his Answer ; which was so far from allaying the storm, that it increased it both in the Commissioners and the Governour, who, all together, retired from the Castle of Carisbrook to Newport, an English mile from the Castle. As soon as they were gone, I went to Mr. Ashburnham, who told me, he had newly dispatched-away a footman over the water, to order four or five horses to be removed from the place where they then stood, lest they should be found and seized by the soldiers, that were coming into the Island. I conjured him by no means to do it, lest the winds or the Parliament's frigates, might force us, in our escape, and we should want horses. He, thereupon, sent a groom after him, and brought him back ; but within few hours after, sent him again with the first order ; but upon what ground I know not, unless that of good husbandry. That night, or the next morning, his Majesty resolved to endeavour his escape ; but he met with two great obstacles : the Wind in the very instant became cross, and the Governour returned from Newport full of fury, and locked-up the gates, and doubled his guards, and went not to bed that night. In the morning he commanded all his Majesty's servants from him. Before we took our leaves, we acquainted his Majesty, that

The King refuses to consent to the four Bills presented to him by the Commissioners of the Parliament.
December 28, 1647.

In consequence of this refusal, Colonel Hammond doubles the guards upon the King:
we

we had left the Captain of the Frigate, and two honest and trusty Gentlemen of the Island, to assist his escape, and that we would have all things in readiness on the other side of the water. His Majesty commanded us to draw a Declaration in his name that night, and send it to his Majesty in the morning, when we came to Newport. *Will. Leg* and I left Mr. *Ashburnham* and the rest in the Inn, and went to an acquaintance's house of ours in the town; where, after we had staid an hour, we heard a drum beat confusedly; and, not long after that, one Captain *Burley*, with divers others, were risen to rescue the King. Upon this Mr. *Leg* and I went to the Inn, where we found Mr. *Ashburnham* making speeches to those poor well-affected People, advising them to desist from their vain Enterprize. I must confess I thought any communication of ours with them dangerous, and therefore I advised Mr. *Ashburnham* not to say any thing to them; for, when his words were out of his mouth, others would interpret them, and say he said what they pleased. And it was well for him and us that we did so; for the prisoners were not only examined concerning us, but were promised Liberty and Pardon in case they would accuse us; and the Governour of the *Cows* had order from *Hammond* to put us on ship-board, and to carry us to London, upon suspicion that we were accessory to this Rising; which was a design so impossible for those that under-took it to effect, (they consisting chiefly of women and children, without any arms, saving one musket,) that no sober man could possibly have been engaged in it. I was desired, that night, to draw the Declaration for his Majesty; which I did, and it was approved of by all but Mr. *Ashburnham*, and at last published in his Majesty's Name. After we had staid, on the other side of the water, about three weeks, expecting the King's coming over to us, and began at last to despair of it, I moved to Mr. *Ashburnham*, Mr. *Leg*, and Mr. *Denham* (who was then come to us from *London*,) that some one might be sent to the Queen from us all; which was consented-to, and I was made choice-of by the rest to go on that business.

F I N I S.

SUND RY REAS ONS,

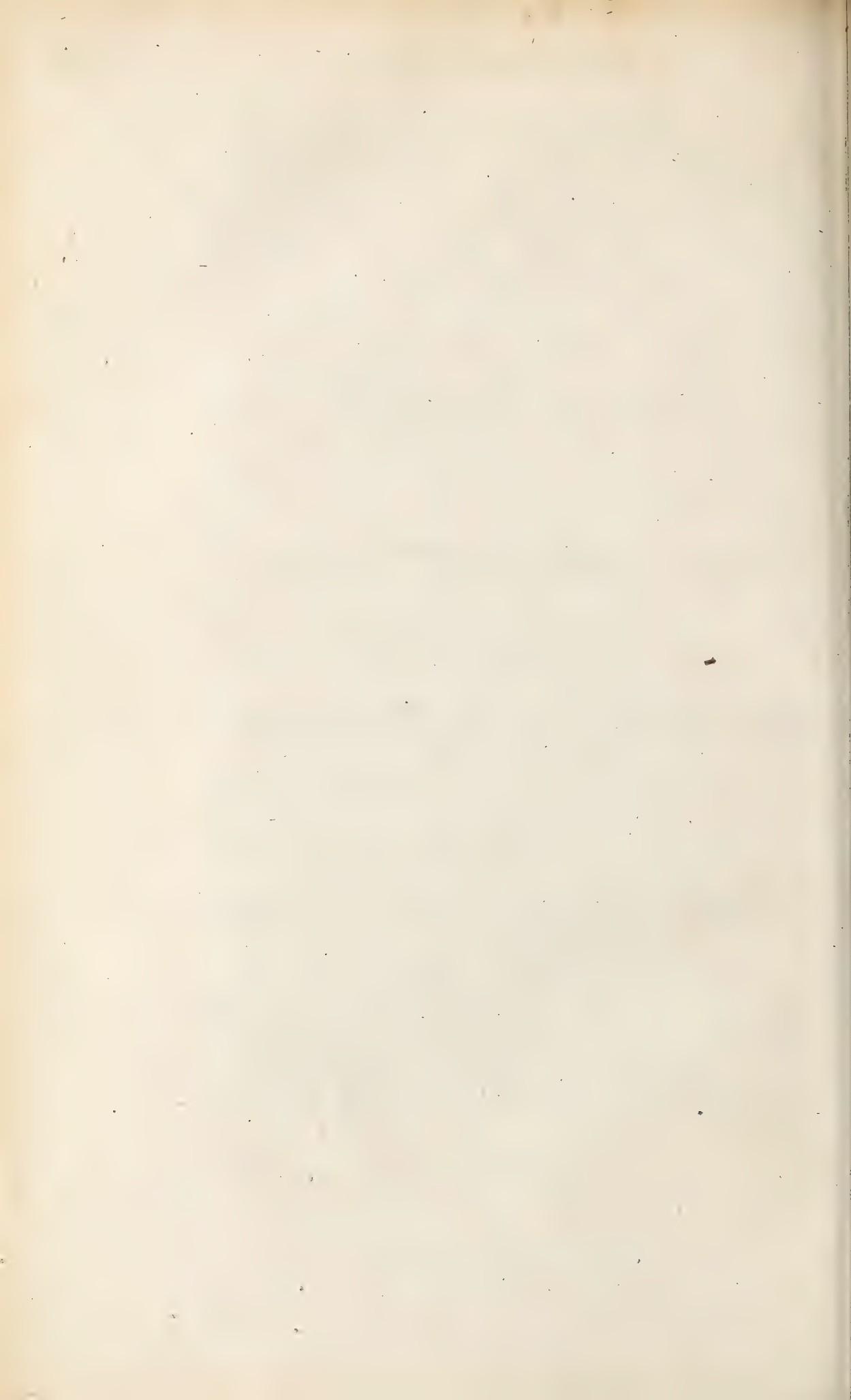
INDUCING

MAJOR ROBERT HUNTINGDON

TO LAY DOWN HIS COMMISSION.

Humbly presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament,
August 2nd, 1748.

[Extracted from Thurloe's STATE PAPERS, Vol. I, pages 94,
95, 96, 97, and 98.]



INDUCING

MAJOR ROBERT HUNTINGDON

To lay down his Commission.

HAVING taken-up arms in defence of the authority and power of King and Parliament, under the command of the Lord Grey of Warke, and the Earl of Manchester, during their several employments with the forces of the Eastern Association ;—and, at the modelling of this army, under the present Lieutenant-general, having been appointed, by the honourable Houses of Parliament, a Major to the now regiment of Lieutenant-general Cromwell ;—and in each of these employments having served constantly and faithfully, answerable to the trust reposed in me ;—and having lately quitted the said employment, and laid-down my commission ;—I hold myself tied both in duty and conscience to render the true reason thereof ; which in the general is briefly this :—Because the principles, designs, and actions of those officers which have a great influence upon the army, are (as I conceive) very repugnant and destructive to the honour and safety of the Parliament and Kingdom, from whom they derive their authority.

The particulars whereof (being a breviait of my sad observations) will appear in the following narrative.

First, That, upon the orders of Parliament for disbanding this army, Lieutenant-general Cromwell and Commissary-general Ireton were sent Commissioners to Walden, to reduce the army to their obedience, but more especially in order to the present supply of forces for the service of Ireland. But they, contrary to the trust reposed in them, very much hindered that service, not only by discountenancing those soldiers that were obedient and willing, but also by giving encouragement to the unwilling and disobedient, declaring “ that there had lately been much cruelty and injustice in the Parliament’s proceedings against

against them, meaning the Army." And Commissary-general Ireton, in further pursuance thereof, framed those papers and writings which were then sent from the Army to the Parliament and Kingdom, saving also to the Agitators. "That it was then lawful and fit for us to deny disbanding, until we had received equal and full satisfaction for our past service:" Lieutenant-general Cromwell further adding, "that we were in a double capacity, as Soldiers, and as Commoners; and, having our pay as Soldiers, we have something else to stand upon as Commoners." And when, upon the rendezvous, at Triplo-heath *, the Commissioners of Parliament, according to their orders, acquainted every regiment with what the Parliament had already done, and would further do, in order to the desires of the army, the soldiers, being before prepared, continued still unsatisfied, and notwithstanding any thing that could be said, or offered, to them by the Commissioners, still cried-out for *Justice! justice!*

And for the effecting of their further purposes, advice was given by Lieutenant-general Cromwell and Commissary-general Ireton to remove the King's person from Holdenby, or to secure him there by other guards than those appointed by the Commissioners of parliament; which design was thought most fit to be carried-on by the private soldiery of the army, and promoted by the Agitators of each regiment; whose first business was to secure the garrison at Oxford, with the guns and ammunition there; and from thence to march to Holdenby in prosecution of the former advice; which was accordingly acted by Cornet Joyce, who, when he had done the business, sent a letter to the General, then at Keinton, acquainting his Excellency, "that the king was on his march towards Newmarket." The General, being troubled thereat, told Commissary-general Ireton, that he did not like it; demanding withal "who gave those orders." He replied, "That he gave orders only for securing the King there, and not for taking him away from thence." Lieutenant-general Cromwell coming then from London, said, "That, if this had not been done, the king would have been fetched-away by order of Parliament; or else Colonel

By the advice of Cromwell, Cornet Joyce, with a strong body of horse, seizes the King's person at Holdenby, and carries him to Newmarket. June 4, 1647.

* This rendezvous of the Army at Triplo-heath was on the 11th of June, 1647. See Rushworth's Collections abridged, Vol. 6th, page 153.

"Graves,

"Graves, by the advice of the Commissioners, would
"have carried him to London, throwing themselves upon
"the favour of Parliament for that service." The same
day Cornet Joyce, being told that the General was dis-
pleased with him for bringing the king from Holdenby,
he answered, "That Lieutenant-general Cromwell had
"given him orders at London, to do what he had done,
"both there and at Oxford."

The person of the King being now in the power of the Army, the business of Lieutenant-general Cromwell was to court his Majesty, (both by members of the Army, and several gentlemen formerly in the King's service) into a good opinion and belief of the proceedings of the Army, as also into a disaffection and dislike of the proceedings of Parliament; pretending to shew, that his Majestie's Interests would far better suit with the principles of Independency, than with those of Presbytery. And when the King did alledge (as many times he did), That the power of Parliament was the power, by which we fought, Lieutenant-general Cromwell would reply, "That we were
"not only Soldiers, but also Commoners; promising that
"the army would be for the King in the settlement of his
"whole business, if the King and his party would sit still,
"and not declare, nor act, against the Army, but give
"them leave only to manage the present business in hand."

That, when the King was at Newmarket, the Parliament thought fit to send to his majesty, humbly desiring, that, in order to his safety and their addresses for a speedy settlement, he would be pleased to come to Richmond. Contrary hereunto, a resolution was taken by the aforesaid officers of the army, that, if the King would not be diverted by persuasion (to which his majesty was very opposite) that then they would stop him by force at Royston, where his Majesty was to lodge the first night, keeping accordingly continual guard upon him against any power, that should be sent by order of Parliament to take him from us: and to this purpose out-guards were also kept to prevent his escape from us with the Commissioners; of whom we had special orders given us to be careful; for that they did daily shew a dislike to the present proceedings of the Army against the Parliament,

The Parliament
votes that the King
shall reside at Rich-
mond. July 15, 1647.

The Army prepares
to oppose such re-
moval of the King
by force.

ment, and that the king was most conversant and private in discourse with them, his Majesty saying, "That, if any man should hinder his going (now that his Houses had desired him upon his late message of 12 May, 1647), it should be done by force, and laying-hold on his bridle; which if any were so bold as to do, he would endeavour to make it his last." But, contrary to his Majesty's expectation, the next morning, when the king and the officers of the army were putting this to an issue, came the votes of both houses to the king, which informed him of their compliance with that which the Army formerly desired. After which his Majesty did incline to hearken to the desires of the Army, and not before.

*But the two Houses
of Parliament ie oie
their former votes
concerning the
King's coming to
Richmond. June 24,
1647.*

N. B.

*The officers of the
Army make fair pro-
mises to the king.
About the 6th of
July, 1647.*

Whereupon, at Caversham *, the king was continually sollicited by messengers from Lieutenant-general Cromwell and Commissary-general Ireton, proffering any thing his Majesty should desire, as revenues, chaplains, wife, children, servants of his own, visitation of friends, access of letters, and (by Commissary-general Ireton) that his negative voice should not be meddled-withal, and that he had convinced those that reasoned against it at a general council of the army; and all this they would do, that his Majesty might the better see into all our actions, and know our principles; which lead us to give him all these things out of conscience. For that we were not a people hating his Majesty's person, or Monarchical government; but that we liked it as the best; and that by this king: saying also, That they did hold it a very unreasonable thing for the Parliament to abridge him of them; often promising, that, if his Majesty would sit still, and not act against them, they would, in the first place, restore him to all these, and upon the settlement of our own just rights and liberties, make him the most glorious prince in Christendom. That to this purpose for a settlement they were making several proposals, to be offered to the Commissioners of Parliament then sent-down to the Army, which should be as bounds for our party as to the king's business; and that his Majesty should have

* The King went to Lord Craven's house at Caversham about the 4th of July, 1647. See Rushworth's Collections abridged, Vol, 6, page 185.

liberty

liberty to get as much of these abated as he could, for that many things therein were proposed only to give satisfaction to others who were our friends ; promising the King, That at the same time the Commissioners of Parliament should see these Proposals, his Majesty should have a copy of them also, pretending to carry a very equal hand between King and Parliament, in order to the settlement of the Kingdom by him ; which, besides their own judgements and conscience, they did see a necessity of it as to the people ; Commissary general Ireton further saying, That what was offered in these Proposals should be so just and reasonable, that, if there were but six men in the Kingdom that would fight to make them good, he would make the seventh, against any power that should oppose them.

The head-quarters being removed from Reading to Bedford, and his Majesty to Wobourne*, the Proposals were given to me by Commissary-general Ireton, to present to the King ; which his Majesty having read, told me, “ that he would never treat with Army, or Parliament, upon ‘ these Proposals, as he was then minded.’ ” But the next day his Majesty, understanding that a force was put on his Houses of Parliament, by a tumult, sent for me again, and said unto me, *Go along with Sir Jo. Berkley to your General and Lieutenant-general, and tell them, that, to avoid a new war, I will now treat with them upon their Proposals, or any thing else, in order to a Peace : only let me be saved in honour and conscience.* Sir Jo. Berkley falling-sick by the way, I delivered this message to the Lieutenant-general and to Commissary-general Ireton, who advised me “ not to acquaint the General with it, till ten or twelve officers of the Army were met together at the General’s quarters, and then they would bethink themselves of some persons to be sent to the King about it.” And accordingly Commissary-General Ireton, Colonel Rainsborow, Colonel Hammond, and Colonel Rich, attended the King, at Woburne, for three hours together, debating the whole business with the King upon the Proposals ; upon which debate, many of the most material

* The King went to the Earl of Bedford’s house at Woburne on the 21st of July, 1647: See Rushworth’s Collections abridged, Vol. 6, p. 205.

things which the King disliked were afterwards struck-out, and many other things were much abated by promises ; whereupon his Majesty was pretty well satisfied. Within a day or two after this, his Majesty removed to Stoke, and there calling for me, told me, He feared an engagement between the City and the Army, saying, he had not time to write any thing under his hand, but would send it to the General after me ; commanding me to tell Commissary-General Ireton, (with whom he had formerly treated upon the Proposals,) that he would wholly throw himself upon us, and trust us for a settlement of the kingdom, as we had promised ; saying, If we proved honest men, we should without question make the kingdom happy, and save much shedding of blood. This Message from his Majesty I delivered to Commissary-General Ireton at Colebrooke, who seemed to receive it with joy, saying, That we should be the veriest knaves that ever lived, if in every thing we made not good whatever we had promised, because the King, by his not declaring against us, had given us great advantage against our adversaries.

* This was on the
6th of August, 1647.

After our marching through London * with the Army, his Majesty being at Hampton-Court, Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary-General Ireton sent the King word several times, that the reason why they made no more haste in his business, was, because the party, which did then sit in the House (while Pelham was Speaker) did much obstruct the business, so that they could not carry it on at present ; the Lieutenant-General often saying, Really they should be pulled-out by the ears ; and to that purpose caused a regiment of horse to rendezvous at Hyde-park to have put that in execution (as he himself expressed) had it not been carried by vote in the House that day as he desired. The day before the Parliament voted once more the sending of the Propositions of both Kingdoms to the King by the Commissioners of each Kingdom at Hampton-Court, Commissary-General Ireton bade me tell the King, That such a thing was to be done to-morrow in the House ; but that his Majesty need not be troubled at it, for that they intended it to no other end but to make good some promises of the Parliament, which the nation of Scotland expected performance of. And that it was not expected or desired, that his Majesty should either sign them

or

or treat upon them: for which there should be no advantage taken against the King. Upon the delivery of which Message, his Majesty replied, He knew not what answer to give to please all without a treaty. Next day after this vote passed*, the Lieutenant-General asking me thereupon, "if the King did not wonder at these votes," I told "him, no; for that Commissary-General Ireton had "sent him such a Message by me the day before "the vote passed, to signify the reason of it." The Lieutenant-General replied, "That really it was the "truth, and that we (speaking of the Parliament) in- "tended nothing else by it, but to satisfy the Scott, who "otherwise might be troublesome." And the Lieutenant-General and Commissary-General, enquiring after his Majesty's Answer to the Propositions, and what it would be, it was shewed them both privately in a garden-house at Putney, and in some part amended to their own minds. But, before this, the King, doubting what answer to give, sent me to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, as unsatisfied with the proceedings of the Army, fearing they intended not to make good what they had promised, and the rather because his Majesty understood that Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary-General Ireton agreed with the rest of the House in some late votes, that opposed the Proposals of the Army. They severally replied, That they would not have his Majesty mistrust them; for that, since the House would go so high, they only concurred with them, that their unreasonableness might the better appear to the Kingdom. And the Lieutenant-General bade me further assure the King, That, if the Army remained an Army, his Majesty should trust the Proposals with what was promised, to be the worst of his Conditions, which should be made for him; and then, striking his hand on his breast in his chamber at Putney, bade me tell the King, He might rest confident and assured of it. And many times the said Message hath been sent to the King from them both, with this addition from Commissary-General Ireton, "That they would purge, and purge, and "never leave purging the Houses, till they had made them

The King grows suspicious that the Officers of the Army will not adhere to the promises they have made to him.

But Cromwell and Ireton renew their protestations to the King that they would faithfully perform all the promises they had made him.

* The vote of both houses of Parliament for sending once more to the King at Hampton-Court the Propositions of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland by the Commissioners of each kingdom, for the restoration of Peasee, which had been sent to him at Newcastle, was passed on the 1st day of September, 1647. See Rushworth's Collections, vol. 6, page 256.

" of such a temper, as should do his Majesty's business ; " and rather than they would fall short of what was promised, he would join with Ireton, Spaniard, Cavalier, or any " that would join with him, to force them to it " Upon the delivery of which Message, the King made answer, That, if they do, they would do more than he durst do. After this the delay of the settlement of the Kingdom was excused upon the commotions of Colonel Martin and Colonel Rainsborough, with their adherents ; the Lieutenant-General saying, That speedy course must be taken for outing of them from the House and Army, because they were now putting the Army into a mutiny, by having a hand in publishing several printed papers, calling themselves the agents of five regiments, and the agreement of the people, although some men had encouragement from Lieutenant-General Cromwell for the prosecution of those papers. And he being further prest to shew himself in it, he desired to be excused at the present, for that he might shew himself hereafter for their better advantage ; though in the company of those men, which were of different judgements, he would often say, that these people were a giddy-headed party, and that there was no trust nor truth in them ; and to that purpose wrote a letter to Colonel Whaley on the day that the King went from Hampton-Court, intimating doubtfully that his Majesty's person was in danger by them, and that he should keep out-guard to prevent them ; which letter was presently shewn to the King by Colonel Whaley.

That about six days after, when it was fully known by the Parliament and Army, that the King was in the Isle of Wight, Commissary-General Ireton, standing by the fire-side in his quarters at Kingston, and some person speaking of an agreement likely to be made between the King and the Parliament, now the person of the King was out of the power of the Army ; Commissary-General Ireton replied, with a discontented countenance, " That he hoped it would " be such a peace, as we might with a good conscience " fight against them both."

Thus they, who, at the first taking the King from Hol- denby into the power of the Army, cried-down Presbyterian Government, the proceedings of this present Parliament, and their perpetuity, and, instead thereof, held-forth an earnest

earnest inclination to a moderated Episcopacy, with a new election of Members to sit in Parliament for the speedy settlement of the Kingdom; and afterwards, when the eleven Members had left the House, and the marching through London with the Army, the seven Lords impeached, the four Aldermen of London committed to the Tower, and other Citizens committed also, then again they cried-up Presbyterian Government, the perpetuity of this present Parliament, Lieutenant-General Cromwell further pleasing himself with the great sums of money, which were in arrears from each county to the Army, and the taxes of 60,000*l.*, per month for our maintenance. Now, saith he, *we may be, for aught I know, an Army as long as we live.* And since the sending-forth the Orders of Parliament for the calling of their Members together, Lieutenant-General Cromwell perceiving the Houses would not answer his expectation, he is now again uttering words persuading the hearers to a prejudice against the proceedings of Parliament, again crying-down Presbyterian Government, setting-up a single interest, which he calls an honest interest, and that we have done ill in forsaking of it. To this purpose it was lately thought fit, to put the Army upon the choosing new agitators, and to draw-forth of the Houses of Parliament sixty or seventy of the Members thereof, much agreeing with his words he spake formerly in his chamber at Kingston, saying, "What a sway Stapleton and Holles had heretofore in the Kingdom, and he knew nothing to the contrary but that he was as well able to govern the Kingdom as either of them;" so that in all his discourse nothing more appeareth, than his seeking after the government of King, Parliament, City, and Kingdom. For effecting whereof he thought it necessary, and delivered it as his judgement, that a considerable party of the chief citizens of London, and some in every county be clapt-up in castles and garrisons, for the more quiet and submissive carriage of every place to which they belong: further saying, That from the raising of the late tumult in London there should be an occasion taken, to hang the Recorder and Aldermen of London then in the Tower, that the City might see, that, the more they did stir in opposition, the more they should suffer; adding, that the City must first

Cromwell expresses a desire of seeing violent and cruel measures employed against the citizens of London to reduce them to a compliance with the army.

be made an example. And since that Lieutenant-General Cromwell was sent down from the Parliament for the reducing of the Army to their obedience, he hath most frequently, in publick and private, delivered these ensuing heads, as his principles, from whence all the foregoing particulars have ensued, being fully confirmed (as I humbly conceive) by his practice in the transaction of his last year's business:

1. First, That every single man is judge of just and right, as to the good and ill of a Kingdom.

2 That the interest of *honest men* is the interest of the Kingdom. And "that those only are deemed *honest men* by him, that are conformable to his judgement and practice," may appear in many particulars. To instance but one, in the choice of Colonel Rainsborough to be Vice-Admiral; Lieutenant-General Cromwell, being asked "how he could " trust a man, whose interest was so directly opposite to " what he had professed, and one whom he had lately aimed " to remove from all places of trust?" he answered, " That " he had now received particular assurance from Colonel " Rainsborough, as great as could be given by man, that " he would be conformable to the judgement and direction " of himself and Commissary-General Ireton, for the ma- " naging of the whole business at sea."

3. That it is lawful to pass through any forms of government for the accomplishing his ends. And, therefore, either to purge the Houses, and support the remaining party by force, everlastingly; or to put a period to them by force; is very lawful, and suitable to the interest of *honest men*.

4. That it is lawful to play the knave with a knave.

These gentlemen aforesaid in the Army, thus principled, and (as by many other circumstances might appear) acting accordingly, give too much cause to believe, that the success which may be obtained by the Army (except timely prevented by the wisdom of Parliament) will be made use of to the destroying of all that power, for which we first engaged; and having for above these twelve months past (sadly and with much reluctance) observed these several passages aforesaid, yet with some hopes that at length there might be a returning to the obedience of Parliament; and contrary

Principles of conduct delivered by Lieutenant-General Cromwell, both in publick and in private, and acted-upon by him.

contrary hereunto, knowing that Resolutions were taken-up, that, in case the power of Parliament cannot be gained to countenance their designs, then to proceed without it; I therefore choose to quit myself of my command, wherein I have served the Parliament for these five years last past, and put myself upon the greatest hazard by discovering these truths, rather than, by hopes of gain, with a troubled mind, continue an abettor, or assistant, of such as give affronts to the Parliament and Kingdom, by abusing their power and authority to carry-on their particular designs, against whom, in the midst of danger, I shall ever avow the truth of this narrative, and myself to be a constant, faithful, and obedient servant to the Parliament of England.

ROB. HUNTINGTON.

Aug. 2d, 1648. *Copia iera.*

SHORT MEMORIALS

OF

THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX.

Written by Himself.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD CHISWELL, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT THE
ROSE AND CROWN, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1699,

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

IT is with your Lordship's leave, that this short manuscript of my Lord *Fairfax*, your noble predecessor, is now printed from the original, written in his own hand, and left in your study at *Denton in Yorkshire*; for it was never intended by him to be published, but to remain for the satisfaction of his own Relations.

But of late something has happened, which in the judgement of your Lordship, and many other persons of condition, makes it necessary that these papers should be sent to the press; which is now done, without any material alterations from the original, but only by placing them in the natural order of time.

Though no copy was ever taken by your Lordship's consent, yet, I know not how, some imperfect ones are got into other hands. And (this being an age, wherein every man presumes to print what he pleases, of his own, or other mens,) we are plainly told, that my Lord *Fairfax's* memorials are ready to
be

be published ; and by the very same person, who has lately set-forth some memoirs, wherein his Lordship is scarce ever named but with reproach ; nor to be excused by what the Editor himself confesses, that the author was much out of humour when he writ the book.

My Lord *Fairfax's* true character is better known to many wise and good men, than to be blemished by such envious detractions. Nor can his reputation thereby suffer with any who were acquainted with his person, and the true intentions of his actions, and knew him in the latter part of his life.

His great misfortune, and so he accounted it, was to be engaged in the unhappy wars, whereof he desired no other memorial than the act of *Oblivion* ; which few that ever needed it, better deserved.

It cannot be denied, that, as a *Soldier*, his life would furnish as noble a memoir as the age has produced, from the time that he began with a troop of horse, and a few undisciplined forces in the *North*, to his being General of a victorious army in the *South* ; which he governed, not as a cypher, but with great prudence and conduct, in councils of war, as well as animated by his personal courage in the field, as long as they had any enemy to oppose them.

But after that, they broke into factions, and were over-run with enthusiasm, and became ungovernable by their General, when they chose their own *Agitators*, and were managed by men of the deepest dissimulation and hypocrisy : by whose fair, but treacherous, promises, some Greater Persons than himself, were deceived to their own ruin.

That most tragical and deplorable part of the civil war, the death of the King, he utterly from his soul abhorred, and lamented to his dying day ; and never mentioned it but with tears in his eyes.

The

The retired part of his life gave him greater satisfaction than all his former victories; when he lived quietly at his own house at *Nun-Appleton* in *Yorkshire*; always earnestly wishing and praying for the restitution of the Royal Family, and fully resolved to lay hold on the first good opportunity to contribute his part towards it; which made him always lookt upon with a jealous eye by the usurpers of that time.

As soon as he was invited by General *Monk* to assist him against *Lambert's* army, he cheerfully embraced the opportunity, and appeared at the head of a brave body of Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*; and, upon the reputation and authority of his name, the *Irish* brigade of twelve hundred horse forsook *Lambert's* army, and joyned with him; the consequence was the immediate breaking of all *Lambert's* forces, which gave General *Monk* an easy march into *England*.

This was always acknowledged, not only by General *Monk*, but by the King himself, as a signal testimony of his zeal to make amends for what was past, and of the very considerable assistance he gave towards the restoring the Royal Family.

After he had waited on his Majesty in *Holland*, as one of the commissioners sent to invite him home, and had seen the King established on his throne, he retired again into his own country, where he died in peace, in the 60th year of his age, *Anno 1671*, leaving behind him an only daughter, the Lady *Mary*, Dutchess of *Buckingham*.

I shall now say no more of him, but, that, so long as unfeigned Piety towards God, invincible Courage, joyned with wonderful modesty, and exceeding good nature; justice and charity to all men in his private life; and an ingenuous acknowledgment of his publick error, with hearty endeavours to make reparation, as soon as he was convinced of it; shall be esteemed in the world: so long shall the name of my Lord
Fairfax

Fairfax be honoured by good men, and be had in perpetual remembrance.

Your Lordship had the good fortune to be born after the storms and tempests of that age: but you have had the honour to appear eminently in defence of our religion, and civil rights, in this last happy revolution, as your noble predecessor did at the restoration.

My Lord,

I am,

Your most affectionate Uncle,

and humble Servant.

April 22, 1699.

BRYAN FAIRFAX.

A SHORT MEMORIAL

OF

The Northern Actions in which I was engaged,
during the War there,

FROM THE YEAR 1642, TO THE YEAR 1644.

IN gratitude to God for his many mercies and deliverances, and not to deprive myself of the comfort of their remembrance, I shall set down, as they come into my mind, those things wherein I have found the wonderful assistance of God to me in the time of war in the *North*; though not in that methodical and polished manner as might have been done, being intended only for my own satisfaction, and help of my memory.

My father was call'd-forth by the importunity of his Country to join with them in their own defence, which was confirmed by a Commission from the Parliament.

The first action we had was at *Bradford*. We were about three hundred men, the enemy seven or eight hundred, and two pieces of ordnance. They assaulted us; out close to the town to receive them; they had the advantage of the ground, the town being encompassed with hills, which exposed us more to their cannon, from which we received some hurt; but our men defended those passages by which they were to descend, so well, that they got no ground of us; and now the day being spent, they drew-off; and retired to *Leeds*.

A few days after, Captain *Hotham* with three troops of horse, and some dragoons, came to us: then we marched to *Leeds*; but the enemy, having notice of it, quitted the town, and in haste fled to *York*.

Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, and his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, (the author of this Memorial,) at the head of 300 men on the side of the Parliament, repulses a body of 700 Royalists, at Bradford. In January 1642-43.

We

Tadcaster.

We advanced to *Tadcaster*, eight miles from *York*, that we might have more room, and be less burthensome to our friends ; and being increased to one thousand men, it was thought fit that we should keep the Pass at *Wetherby*, for the securing of the *West-Riding*, or the greatest part of it; from whence our chief supplies came.

Wetherby.

I was sent to *Wetherby* with three hundred foot, and forty horse ; the enemy's next design from *York*, was to fall upon my quarters there, being a place very open, and easy for them to assault, there being so many back-ways, and friends enough to direct them, and give them intelligence.

About six a clock one morning they fell upon us with eight hundred horse and foot, the woods thereabout favouring them so much, that our scouts had no effect or notice of them, and no alarm was given till they were ready to enter the town : which they might easily do, the guards being all asleep in houses ; for in the beginning of the war, men were as impatient of duty, as they were ignorant of it.

I myself was only on horseback, and going-out to the other end of the town to *Tadcaster*, where my father lay, when one came running after me, and told me the enemy was entering the town ; I presently galloped to the Court of Guard, where I found not above four men at their arms, as I remember *, two Serjeants and two Pikemen, who stood with me when *Sir Thomas Clenham*, with about six or seven commanders more, charged us ; and after a short, but sharp encounter, they retired, in which one *Major Carr* was slain ; and by this time more of the guards where got to their arms. I must confess, I knew no strength but the powerful Hand of God that gave them this repulse.

After this they made another attempt, in which Captain *Atkinson* (on our part) was slain : and here again there fell-out another remarkable providence ;—During this conflict, our Magazine was blown-up. This struck such a terror into the enemy, believing we had cannon (which they were before informed we had not,) that they instantly retreated ; and though I had but a few horse, we pursued the enemy some miles, and took many prisoners :

*One of them had a Pension for his Life

soners : we lost about eight or ten men, whereof seven were blown-up with powder ; the enemy lost many more.

At this time the *Earl of Cumberland* commanded the forces in *Yorkshire* for the King ; he, being of a peaceable nature and affable disposition, had but few enemies ; or, rather, because he was an enemy to few, he did not suit with their present condition. Their apprehensions and fears caused them to send to the *Earl of Newcastle*, (who had an army of six thousand men,) to desire his assistance, whereof he assured them by a speady march to *York*.

Being now encouraged by this increase of force, they resolved to fall upon *Tadcaster*. My father drew all his men thither ; but, in a Council of War, the town was judged untenable, and that we should draw-out to an advantageous piece of ground, by the town ; but, before we could all march out, the enemy advanced so fast, that we were necessitated to leave some foot in a slight work above the Bridge, to secure our retreat ; but the enemy pressing on us, forced us to draw-back, to maintain that ground.

We had about nine hundred men, the enemy above four thousand, who in Brigades drew-up close to the works, and stormed us. Our men reserved their shot, till they camē near, which they did then dispose-of to so good purpose, that the enemy was forced to retire, and shelter themselves behind the hedges. And here did the first flight continue from eleven o-clock at noon, till five in the night, with cannon and musquet, without intermission.

A battle near Tad-caster.

The Royalists are re-pulsed.

They had once possessed a house by the bridge, which would have cut us from our reserves that were in the town : but *Major-general Gifford*, with a commanded party, beat them out again, where many of the enemy were slain, and taken prisoners. They attempted at another place, but were repulsed by Captain *Lister*, who was there slain ; a great loss, being a discrete gentleman.

By this time it grew dark, and the enemy drew-off into the fields hard by, with intention to assault us the next

Sir Thomas Fairfax
and his little army
march to Selby;

They left that night above two hundred dead and wounded upon the place. But, our ammunition being all spent in this day's fight, we drew-off that-night and marched to *Selby*, and the enemy entered the next morning into the town.

Thus, by the mercy of God, were a few delivered from an army, who in their thoughts had swallowed us up.

The *Earl of Newcastle* now lay betwixt us and our friends in the *West-Riding*; but, to assist and encourage them, I was sent, with about three hundred foot, and three troops of horse, and some arms, to *Bradford*: I was to go by *Ferry-bridge*, our intelligence being that the enemy was advanced no further than *Sherburne*; but when I was within a mile of the town, we took some prisoners, who told us, my lord of *Newcastle* lay at *Pontefract*, eight hundred men in *Ferry-bridge*, and the rest of the army in all the towns thereabout: so that our advance or retreat seemed alike difficult. Little time being allowed us to consider, we resolved to retreat to *Selby*: three or four hundred horse of the enemy shewed themselves in rear, without making any attempt upon us, so that, by the goodness of God, we got safe to *Selby*.

and, three days after,
they go to Bradford.

Three days after this, upon better intelligence how the enemy lay, with the same number as before, I marched in the night by several towns where they lay, and came the next day to *Bradford*, a town very untenable, but for their good affection to us, deserving all we could hazard for them.

Our first work then was to fortifie ourselves; for we could not but expect an assault. There lay at *Leeds* fifteen hundred of the enemy, and twelve hundred at *Wakefield*, neither place above six or seven miles distant from us. They visited us every day with their horse, ours not going far from the town, being very unequal in number: yet the enemy seldom returned without loss, till at last our few men grew so bold, and theirs so disheartened, that they durst not stir a mile from their garrisons.

Whilst these daily skirmishes were among the horse, I thought it necessary to strengthen ourselves with more foot; I summoned the country, who had by this time more liberty to come to us. I presently armed them with

with those arms we brought along with us; so that in all we were about eight hundred foot.

Being too many to lie idle, and too few to be upon constant duty, we resolved, through the assistance of God, to attempt them in their garrisons.

We summoned the Country again, and made a body of twelve or thirteen hundred men, with which we marched to *Leeds*, and drew them up within half cannon-shot of their works, in Battalia, and then sent a trumpet with a summons to deliver-up the town to me, for the use of King and Parliament. They presently returned this answer, that it was not civilly done to come so near before I sent the summons, and that they would defend the town the best they could with their lives.

I presently ordered the manner of the storm, and we all fell-on at the same time: the business was hotly disputed for almost two hours; but the enemy being beaten from their works, and the barricadoes into the streets forced open, the horse and foot resolutely entered, and the soldiers cast down their arms, and rendered themselves prisoners. The Governour and some chief Officers swam the river and escaped, only *Major Beaumont* was drowned; about forty or fifty slain; good store of ammunition taken; of which we had great want.

The consequence of this action was yet of more importance; for those who fled from *Leeds* to *Wakefield*, quitted that garrison also, and gave my *Lord of Newcastle* such an alarm at *Pontefract*, that he drew all his army again to *York*, leaving once more a free intercourse, which he had so long time c t-off, betwixt my father and us.

After a short time the *Earl of Newcastle* returned again to the same quarters, and we to our stricter duties. But we quickly found our men must have more room, or more action.

Captain Hotham and I took a resolution early one morning, from *Selby* to beat up a quarter of the enemy's, that lay at *Fenton*; they being gone, we marched to *Sherburne*, intending there only to give them an alarm: but they might see us a mile or more, over a plain common, which lay by the town, and they sent

They then march to
Leeds, and take it by
storm.

The Earl of Newcastle withdraws his great army of Royalists from Pontefract to York.

But soon after returns to his former quarters.

Sir Thomas Fairfax and Captain Hotham defeat a small body of Royalist Horse near Sherburne, and make some of them prisoners.

twenty or thirty horse, to guard a pass near the town. I had the van ; for at this time we commanded our troops distinct, one from another, both making five troops of horse, and two of dragoons. I told *Captain Hotham*, that, if he would second me, I would charge those horse, and, if they fled, I would pursue them so close as to get into the town with them : He promised to second me. I went to the head of my troops, and presently charged them ; they fled, and we pursued close to the barricado ; but they got-in, and shut it upon us. Here my horse was shot in at the breast : we so filled the lane, being strait, that we could not retreat without confusion, and danger of their falling in our rear ; so we stood to it, and stormed the works with pistol and sword. At the end of the barricado there was a narrow passage for a single horse to go in ; I entered there, others following me, one by one ; and close at one side of the entrance stood a troop of horse of the enemy : so soon as eight or ten of us were got in, we charged them, and they fled ; by this time the rest of our men had beat them from their barricado, and entered the town : we soon cleared the streets, and pursued those that fled ; and now my horse, which was shot in the lane, fell down dead under me ; but I was presently mounted again.

The enemy in the towns about having taken the alarm, it made us think of securing our retreat, with the prisoners we had got ; some of them being considerable, among whom was *Major General Windham*. We had scarce got into order before *General Goring* came with a good body of horse up to us ; and, as we marched-off, he followed us close in the rear, without doing us any hurt ; only my trumpet had his horse shot close by me. And thus we returned to *Selby*.

Though this did not free us wholly from a potent enemy, yet we lay more quietly by them a good while after.

In this recess of action, we had several treaties about prisoners ; and this I mention the rather, for that *Captain Hotham* here first began to discover his intention of leaving the Parliament's Service, in making conditions for himself,

*And they then return
to Selby.*

himself, with the *Earl of Newcastle*, though it was not discovered till a good while after: Which had almost ruined my father, and the forces with him. For, being now denied help and succour from *Hull*, and the *East-Riding*, he was forced to forsake *Selby*, and retire to *Leeds*, and those western parts where I then lay.

To make this retreat, I was sent-to, to bring what men I could to joyn with him at *Sherburn*: for my *Lord of Newcastle's* army lay so as he might easily intercept us in our way to *Leeds*; which he had determined to do, and, to that end, lay with his army on *Clifford-Moore*, having present intelligence of our march.

Whilst my father, with fifteen-hundred men, ordinance, and ammunition, continued his way from *Selby* to *Leeds*, I, with those I brought to *Sherburne*, marched a little aside, betwixt my *Lord of Newcastle's* army and ours. And, to amuse them the more, we made an attempt upon *Tadcaster*, where they had three or four hundred men, who presently quitted the town, and fled to *York*.

Here we stayed three or four hours, slighting the works; which put my *Lord Newcastle's* army to a stand, being on the march to meet us, and thinking he was deceived in his intelligence, and that we had some other design upon *York*; he presently sends-back the *Lord Goring* with twenty troops of horse and dragoons to relieve *Tadcaster*. We were newly drawn-off when he came: my *Lord Goring* past over the river to follow us; but, seeing we were far unequal in horse to him, (for I had not above three troops,) and were to go over *Bramham-Moore* plain, I gave direction to the foot to march-away, whilst I stayed with the horse to interrupt the enemy's passage in those narrow lanes that lead up to the *Moore*. Here was much firing at one another; but in regard of their great numbers, as they advanced, we were forced to give way; yet had gained by it sufficient time for the foot to have been out of danger.

When we came up to the *Moore* again, I found them where I left them, which troubled me much, the enemy being close upon us, and a great plain yet to go over. So we, marching the foot in two divisions, and the horse in the rear, the enemy followed about two musket-shot from us, in

Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, with a body of 1500 men, marches from Selby to Leeds.

His son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, with his body of men (that had been engaged with the Royalists at Sherburne,) takes possession of Tadcaster, and from thence marches to Leeds, where he arrives about an hour after his father.

three good bodies, and made no attempt upon us: And thus we got well over this open campaign, to some inclosures, beyond which was another *Moore*, (called *Seacroft Moore*) less than the former. Here our men, thinking themselves secure, were more careless in keeping order; and, whilst their officers were getting them out of houses where they sought for drink, (it being an extream hot day,) the enemy got, by another way, into the *Moore*, as soon as we; and, when we had almost passed this plain also, they, seeing us in some disorder, charged us both in flank and rear: the countrymen presently cast down their arms and fled; and, soon after, the foot fled also, not being able, for want of pikes, to withstand their horse: some were slain, many were taken prisoners; few of our horse stood the charge. Some officers with me, made our retreat with much difficulty; in which Sir *Henry Foulis* had a slight hurt; my Cornet was taken prisoner. We got well to *Leeds*, about an hour after my father, and the men with him got safe thither.

Sir Thomas Fairfax
and his troops, after
great fatigue and
many difficulties, ar-
rive at Hull.

This was one of the greatest losses we ever received. Yet was it a Providence that it was a part, and not the whole, of the forces, which received this loss; it being the enemy's intention to have fought us that day with their whole army, (which was at least ten thousand men,) had not our attempt upon *Tadcaster* put a stand to them. And so concluded that day with this storm, which fell on me only.

We being at *Leeds*, it was thought fit to possess some other place; wherefore I was sent to *Bradford* with seven or eight hundred foot, and three troops of horse. These two towns were all the garrisons we had; and at *Wakefield*, six miles off, lay three thousand of the enemy. But they did not much disturb us: and we were busied about procuring the release of several of our men who had been taken prisoners at *Seacroft*; most of whom were countrymen, whose wives and children were still importunate for their release, which was as earnestly endeavoured by us. But no conditions would be accepted by our enemies; so that their continual cries, and tears, and importunities, compelled us to think of some other way to redeem these men; and we thought of attempting *Wakefield*.

Our intelligence was, that the enemy had not above eight or nine hundred men in the town; I acquainted my father,

father with our design, who approved of it, and sent some men from *Leeds*, so that we were able to draw-out eleven hundred horse and foot.

Upon *Whitsunday*, early in the morning, we came before the town. But they had notice of our coming, and manned all their works, and set about five hundred musketeers to line the hedges without the town; which made us now doubt our intelligence: but it was too late.

After a little consultation we advanced, and soon beat them back into the town, which we stormed at three places; and, after an hour's dispute, the foot forced open a barricado, where I enter'd with my own troop; Colonel *Alured* and Captain *Bright* followed with theirs: the street where we entered was full of their foot; we charged them through, and routed them, leaving them to the foot that followed close behind us; and presently we were charged again with horse led on by General *Goring*; where, after a hot encounter, some were slain, and the General himself was taken prisoner by Colonel *Alured*.

I cannot but here acknowledge God's goodness to me this day. For, being advanced a good way, single, before my men, having a Colonel, and Lieutenant-colonel, who had engaged themselves to be my prisoners, only with me, and many of the enemy now betwixt me and my men, I lighted upon a regiment of foot standing in the Market-place. Being thus compassed, and thinking what to do, I spied a lane, which, I thought, would lead me back to my men again; at the end of this lane there was a Corps-de-guard of the enemy's, with fifteen or sixteen Soldiers, who were just then quitting of it, with a serjeant leading them off; whom we met, and seeing their Officers, they came up to us, taking no notice of me, and asked them "what they would have them do," for that they could keep the work no longer, the round-heads (as they called them) came so fast upon them.

The Gentlemen, who had passed their words to me to be my true Prisoners, said nothing; and, looking one upon another, I thought it not fit now to own them as Prisoners, much less to bid the rest to render themselves to me; but, being well-mounted, and seeing a place in the works where men used to go-over, I rushed from them,

Sir Thomas Fairfax with a party of 1100 men, horse and foot, attacks the town of *Wakefield*, and takes it by Storm May 20, 1643.

A narrow escape of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

and made my horse leap over the work ; and, by a good providence, got to my men again ; who, before I came, had, by direction of Major-General *Gifford*, brought-up a piece of ordnance, and placed it in the Church-yard against that body of men that stood in the Market-place, who presently rendered themselves.

N. B.

All our men being got into the town, the streets were cleared, and many prisoners taken ; but the horse got-off, almost entire.

This appeared the greater mercy, when we saw our mistake ; for we found three thousand men in the town, and expected but half the number. We brought away fourteen hundred Prisoners, eighty Officers, twenty eight Colours, and great store of Ammunition.

But seeing this was more a miracle than a victory ; more the effect of God's providence, than human force, or prudence, let the honour and praise of all be his only.

After this, we exchanged our men that were Prisoners, and we were freed a good while from any trouble or attempt of the enemy.

Hitherto, through God's mercy, we had held-up near two years against a potent army. But, they finding us to be almost tired of continual service, and treacherously used by friends, and in want of many things necessary for support and defence, the *Earl of Newcastle* marched with an army of ten, or twelve, thousand men to besiege us, and resolved to sit-down before *Bradford*, which was a very untenable place.

Hither my father drew all the forces he could spare out of the garrisons ; but seeing it impossible to defend the town otherwise than by strength of men, and that we had not above ten or twelve days provision for so many as were necessary to keep it ; we resolved the next morning very early, with a body of three thousand men, to attempt his whole army, as they lay in their quarters three miles off. Hoping by it to put him to some distraction, which could not be done any other way, by reason of the unequal numbers.

To this end my father appointed four o'th'clock next morning to begin our march ; but Major-General *Gifford*, who had the ordering of the business, so delayed the execution,

ecution of it, that it was seven or eight before we began to move. And this was not without much suspicion of treachery; for, when we came near the place we intended, the enemy's whole army was drawn-up in Battalia.

We were to go up a Hill to them ; that our forlorn hope gained by beating theirs into their main body, which was drawn up half a mile further upon a plain called *Adderton-Moor*. We being all got up the hill, drew into Battalia also. I commanded the right wing, which was about one thousand foot, and five troops of horse. Major-General *Gifford* commanded the left wing, which was about the same number. My father commanded in chief.

We advanced through the inclosed grounds, till we came to the *Moore*, beating the foot that lay in them, to their main body.

Ten or twelve troops of horse charged us in the right wing ; we kept the inclosures, placing our musketeers in the hedges next the *Moore*; which was a good advantage to us who had so few horse.

There was a gate, or open place, to the *Moore*, where five or six might enter a-breast. Here they strive to enter, we to defend it ; but after some dispute, those that entered the pass, found sharp entertainment ; and those who were not yet entred, as hot welcome from the musketeers that flanked them in the hedges. They were all, in the end, forced to retreat, with the loss of Colonel *Howard*, who commanded them.

Our left wing at the same time was engaged with the enemy's foot, and gained ground of them. The horse came-down again, and charged us, they being about thirteen or fourteen troops. We defended ourselves as before, but with much more difficulty ; many having got-in among us : but they were beaten-off again with some loss. Colonel *Herne*, who commanded that party, was slain. We pursued them to their cannon. Here I cannot omit a remarkable instance of divine Justice. Whilst we were engaged in the fight with those horse that entered the gate, four soldiers had stript Colonel *Herne* naked, as he lay on the ground, men still fighting round about him ; and so dexterous were these villains, that they had done it, and mounted

A battle on Adderton
Moor between the
Parliamentary army
under the command
of Ferdinando Lord
Fairfax and his son,
and the army of
Royalists under the
command of the Earl
of Newcastle.

mounted themselves again, before we had beaten the enemy off: but after we had beaten them to their ordnance, as I said, and now returning to our ground again, the enemy discharged a piece of cannon in our rear, the bullet fell into Captain *Copley's* troop, in which were these four men; two of them were killed, and some hurt or mark remained on the other, though dispersed into several ranks of the troop, which made it more remarkable. We had not yet martial law among us; this gave me a good occasion to declare to the soldiers, how God would punish, when men wanted power to do it.

This charge, and the resolution our men shewed in the left wing, made the enemy think of retreating. Orders were given for it, and some marched-off the field.

Whilst they were in this wavering condition, one Colonel *Skirton* desired his General to let him charge once with a stand of Pikes, with which he broke-in upon our men; and, they not being relieved by our reserves, (which were commanded by some ill-affected officers, chiefly Major General *Giford*, who did not his part as he ought to do,) our men lost ground, which the enemy seeing, pursued this advantage, by bringing-on fresh troops; ours being herewith discouraged, began to fly, and were soon routed. The horse also soon charged us again, we not knowing what was done in the left wing: Our men maintained their ground, till a command came for us to retreat, having scarce any way now to do it, the enemy being almost round about us, and our way to *Bradford* cut off. But there was a lane in the field we were in, which led to *Halifax*; which, as a happy providence, brought us off, without any great loss, save of Captain *Talbot*, and twelve more that were slain in this last encounter. Of those who fled, there were about sixty killed, and three hundred taken prisoners.

After this ill success, we had small hopes of better; wanting all things necessary in *Bradford* for defence of the own, and having no expectation of help from any place. The Earl of Newcastle presently besieged the town; but, before he had surrounded it, I got in with those men I brought from *Halifax*. I found my father much troubled, we having neither a place of strength to defend ourselves.

*They are defeated by
the Royalists.*

selves in, nor a garrison in *Yorkshire* to retreat to ; for the Governor of *Hull* had declared, if we were forced to retreat thither, he would shut the gates on us.

Whilst he was musing on these sad thoughts, a messenger was sent unto him from *Hull*, to let him know the townsmen had secured the Governor; that they were sensible of the danger he was in, and, if he had any occasion to make use of that place, he should be very readily and gladly received there. Which news was joyfully received, and acknowledged as a great mercy of God ; yet it was not made use of till a further necessity compelled.

My father having ordered me to stay here with eight hundred foot, and sixty horse, retired that night to *Leeds*, Bradford.

to secure it.

The *Earl of Newcastle* spent three or four days in laying his quarters about the town of *Bradford*, and brought down his cannon ; but needed not to raise batteries ; for the hills within half musket-shot commanded all the town. Being planted in two places, they shot furiously upon us, and made their approaches ; which made us spend very much of our little store, which was not above twenty-five, or twenty-six, barrels of powder, at the beginning of the siege. Yet the *Earl of Newcastle* sent a trumpet to offer us conditions ; which I accepted, so they were honourable for us to take, and safe for the inhabitants. We sent two captains to treat with him, and agreed to a cessation during that time : but he continued working still ; whereupon I sent forth the commissioners again, suspecting a design of attempting something upon us. They returned not till eleven a clock at night ; and then with a slight answer.

Whilst they were delivering it to us, we heard great shooting of cannon and muskets ; all run presently to the works, which the enemy was storming. Here for three quarters of an hour was very hot service ; but at length they retreated.

They made a second attempt, but were also beaten-off ; after this, we had not above one barrel of powder left, and no match. I called the officers together, where it was advised and resolv'd to draw off presently, before it was day,

The Earl of Newcastle lays siege to the town of Bradford, and attempts to take it by storm.

But is twice repulsed by the garrison.

and

and to retreat to *Leeds*, by forcing a way; which we must do, because they had surrounded the town.

Sir Thomas Fairfax with his little army quits Bradford, and retires to *Leeds*.

Orders were dispatched, and speedily put in execution. The foot, commanded by Colonel *Rogers*, were sent-out through some narrow lanes; and they were to beat-up the dragoons quarters, and so go-on to *Leeds*.

I myself, with some other officers, went with the horse, (which were not above fifty,) in a more open way.

I must not here forget my *Wife*, who ran the same hazard with us in this retreat, and with as little expression of fear; not from any zeal, or delight in the war, but through a willing and patient suffering of this undesirable condition.

I sent two or three horsemen before, to discover what they could of the enemy; who presently returned, and told us there was a guard of horse close by us. Before I had gone forty paces, the day beginning to break, I saw them upon the hill above us, being about 300 horse. I, with some 12 more, charged them; Sir *Hen. Fowles*, Major General *Gifford*, myself, and three more, brake through; Captain *Mudd* was slain; and the rest of our horse being close by, the enemy fell upon them, and soon routed them, taking most of them prisoners, among whom was my wife, the officer, *Will. Hill*, (behind whom she rid,) being taken.

I saw the disaster, but could give no relief; for, after I was got-through, I was in the enemy's rear alone; those who had charged through with me, went on to *Leeds*, thinking I had done so too: but I was unwilling to leave my company, and stayed till I saw there was no more in my power to do, but to be taken prisoner with them. I then retired to *Leeds*.

The like disaster fell among the foot, (that went the other way,) by a mistake; for, after they had marched a little way, the van fell into the dragoons quarters, clearing their way; but, through a cowardly fear, he that commanded these men, being in the rear, made them face about, and march again into the town, where the next day they were all taken prisoners. Only 80, or thereabout, of the front, that got-through, came all to *Leeds*, mounted on horses which they had taken from the enemy; where

I found

His wife is taken prisoner by the Royalists under the command of the Earl of Newcastle.

I found them when I came thither; which was some joy to them all, as they had concluded that I was either slain or taken prisoner.

At *Leeds* I found all in great distraction; the council of war newly risen, where it was resolved to quit the town, and retreat to *Hull*, which was sixty miles off, and many of the enemy's garrisons lay in the way. This, in two hours after, was accordingly done, lest the enemy should presently send horse to prevent us; for they had fifty, or sixty, troops within three miles. But we got well to *Selby*, where there was a ferry, and hard-by a *Garrison*, at *Cawood*.

The Parliament's
troops at Leeds re-
solve to retreat to
Hull.

My Father, being a mile before, with a few men, getting over the ferry, word came to us that he was in danger to be taken. I hasted to him with about forty horse, the rest following in some disorder. He was newly got into the boat, when the enemy, with three cornets of horse, entered the town.

I was drawn-up in the market-place, directly before the street they came down; when they were, almost half, come into the market-place, they turned on the right hand; with part of my troop I charged them in the flank, and divided them; we had the chace of them down the long street that goes to *Brayton*.

It happened at the same time that those men I left behind were coming-up the street. But, being in disorder, and discouraged with the misfortunes of many days before, they turned-about, and gave-way, not knowing we were pursuing the enemy in their rear.

At the end of this street was a narrow lane, which led to *Cawood*. The enemy strove to pass that way; but, it being narrow, there was a sudden stop, where we were mingled one among another.

Here I received a shot in the wrist of my arm, which made the bridle fall-out of my hand, and (being among the nerves and veins,) suddenly let-out such a quantity of blood, that I was ready to fall from my horse: but, taking the reins in the other hand, in which I had my sword, the enemy minding nothing so much as how to get-away, I drew myself out of the crowd, and came to our men, who turned about, and, seeing me ready to fall from my horse, they laid me on the ground; and soon after, when I was almost

Sir Thomas Fairfax
is severely wounded
in the wrist, at *Selby*,

senseless

senseless, my surgeon came seasonably, and bound-up the wound, and stopt the bleeding.

After a quarter of an hour's rest, I got a horse-back again ; the other part of our horse had beaten the enemy back to *Cawood*, the same way they came first to us.

Thus, by the goodness of God, our passage was made clear. Some went over the ferry after my father. I myself, with others, went through the *Levels* to *Hull*. But it proved a very troublesome and dangerous passage, being often interrupted by the enemy, sometimes in our front, sometimes in our rear.

I had been twenty hours on horse-back, after I was shot, without any rest or refreshment; and as many hours before. And, as a further affliction, my daughter, not above five years old, being carried before her maid, endured all this retreat a horse-back ; but, nature not being able to hold-out any longer, she fell into frequent swoonings, and in appearance was ready to expire her last.

Having now passed the *Trent*, and seeing a house not far off, I sent her with her maid only thither, with little hopes of seeing her any more alive, though I intended the next day to send a ship from *Hull* for her.

I went on to *Barton*, having sent before to have a ship ready against my coming thither. Here I lay-down to take a little rest, if it were possible to find any in a body so full of pain, and a mind yet fuller of anxiety and trouble. Though I must acknowledge it as the infinite goodness of God, that my spirit was nothing at all disengaged from doing still that which I thought to be my duty.

I had not rested a quarter of an hour, before the enemy came close to the town. I had now not above a hundred horse with me : we went to the ship, where, under the security of her ordnance, we got all our men and horses a-board; and, crossing the *Humber*, we arrived at *Hull*, our men faint and tired. I myself had lost all, even to my shirt; for my cloaths were made unfit to wear with rents and blood. Presently after my coming to *Hull*, I sent a ship for my *Daughter*, who was brought the next day to the town, pretty-well recovered of her long and tedious journey.

Sir Thomas Fairfax
with a small body of
men, after great fa-
tigue and many diffi-
culties, arrive at
Hull.

Not

Not many days after the Earl of Newcastle sent my Wife back again in his coach, with some horse to guard her; which generous act of his gained him more reputation than he could have got by detaining a lady prisoner, upon such terms.

The Earl of Newcastle sends his wife back to him in his coach.

Many of our men, who were dispersed in this long retreat, came hither again to us. Our first business was to raise new forces, and, in a short time, we had about 1500 foot, and 700 horse.

The town being little, I was sent to *Beverly*, with the horse, and 600 foot, but my Lord of Newcastle now looking upon us as inconsiderable, was marched into *Lincolnshire*, with his whole army, leaving some few garrisons. He took-in *Gainsborough* and *Lincoln*, and intended to take in *Boston*, which was the key of the associated Counties; for his orders, (which I have seen,) were to go into *Essex*, and block-up London on that side.

Having laid a great while still, and being now strong enough for those forces which remained in the Country, we sent-out a good party to make an attempt upon *Stanford-bridge*, near *York*. But the enemy, upon the alarm, fled thither, which put them also in such a fear, that they sent earnestly to my Lord of Newcast'e to desire him to return, or the Country would again be lost. Upon this he returned again into *Yorkshire*, and not long after came to besiege *Hull*.

I lay at *Beverley* in the way of his march; and, finding we were not able to defend such an open place against an army, I desired orders from my Father to retire back to *Hull*: but the Committee there had more mind of raising money, than to take care of the Soldiers. And yet these men had the greatest share in command at this time, and would not let any orders be given for our retreat; nor was it fit for us to return without order.

The enemy marched with his whole army towards us: retreat we must not; keep the town we could not. So, to make our retreat more honourable and useful, I drew-out all the horse and dragoons towards the enemy; and stood drawn-up by a wood-side all that night.

Next morning by day, our scouts and theirs fired on one another. They marched-on with their whole body, which

which was about 4000 horse, and 12,000 foot. We stood till they were come very near to us. I then drew-off; having given direction before for the foot to march-away towards *Hull*, and thinking to make good the retreat with the horse.

The enemy with a good party came-up in our rear. The lanes being narrow, we made good shift with them, till we got into *Beverley*, and shut the gate; which we had scarce time to do, they being so close to us.

In this business we lost Major *Layton*, and not above two more.

The enemy not knowing what forces we had in the town, stayed till the rest of the army came-up, which was about a mile behind. This gave our foot some advantage in their retreat, it being five miles to *Hull*, and the way on narrow banks. I sent the horse by *Cottingham*, a more open road, who got well thither; they overtook the foot, and made good their retreat, till we got to a little bridge two miles from *Hull*, where we made a stand; the enemy followed close; our men gave them a good volley of shot, which made them draw-back; and they advanced no further.

So leaving a small guard at the bridge, we got safe to *Hull*.

Thus, not only for want of military skill in the gentlemen of the Committee, but, to say no more, for want of good-nature, we were exposed to this trouble and danger.

My Lord of *Newcastle* now laid siege to *Hull*, but at a great distance. For the sluices were let-open and drowned the land for two miles about the town.

Yet upon a bank, which was the highway, he approached so near as to shoot cannon-shot at random into the town, and, for the most part, hot bullets. But, by the diligence and care of the Governor, who caused every inhabitant to watch his own house, the danger was prevented.

Our horse was now useless, and many horses died every day, having nothing but salt-water about the town. I was therefore sent-over with the horse into *Lincolnshire* to join with the Earl of *Manchester's* forces, which were then

The Earl of Newcastle lays siege to the town of Hull.

commanded by Major-General *Cromwell*, who received us at our landing with his troops.

Sir *John Henderson* lay within three or four miles of this place, with 5000 men, to prevent our conjunction, but durst not attempt it. He marched three or four days near unto us, but for want of good intelligence, we did not know so much. For I altogether trusted to the care of our new friends, being a stranger in those parts.

At *Horncastle* one morning he fell upon our out-guards; who, being but newly raised in that country, fled towards *Lincoln*, without giving any alarm to our quarters, that lay dispersed and secure.

Sir *John Henderson*, marching slowly with his army, gave the alarm to some of our out-quarters, which was soon taken in all the rest. Yet we were in some disorder before we could get into any considerable body. My Lord *Willoughby* with his horse, and my dragoons, commanded by Colonel *Morgan*, brought-up the rear, and, after some skirmishes, we lodged that night in the field.

The next day the Earl of *Manchester* came to us with his foot; the day following we advanced toward the enemy, and, chusing a convenient ground to fight on, we drew-up the army there. The enemy did so on the side of another hill close-by, having a little plain betwixt us. Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* had the van, the reserve of horse, and my Lord *Manchester* all the foot.

After we had faced one another a good while, the forlorn hopes began the fight: presently the bodies met on the plain, where the fight was hot for half an hour; but then they were forced to a rout, with 200 killed and many taken prisoners.

This was the issue of *Horncastle-fight*, or, as some call it, *Winsby-fight*.

At the same instant we heard great shooting of ordnance towards *Hull*, which was a sally my Father made out of the town upon my Lord of *Newcastle's* trenches, who drew-out most part of his army to relieve them: but our men charged so resolutely, that they possessed themselves of the cannon, and pursuing their advantage,

Winsby, or Horn-castle.

A battle with the Royalists at Horn-castle, or Winsby. The Royalists are defeated.

The garrison of Hull makes a successful sally against the besieging army.

The Royalists raise
the siege of Hull, and
return to York.

The Parliament or-
ders Sir Thomas
Fairfax to march to
the relief of the be-
sieged town of *Nant-
wich*.

N. B.

He begins his march
on the 29th of De-
cember, 1643.

put the enemy to a total rout, upon which he raised the
siege, and returned again to *York*.

These two defeats together, the one falling heavy upon
the horse, the other upon foot, kept the enemy all that
winter from attempting any thing; and we, after the
taking of *Lincoln*, settled ourselves in winter-quarters.

In the coldest season of the year I was commanded by
the Parliament to go and raise the siege at *Nantwich*,
which the Lord *Byron*, with the *Irish army*, had re-
duced to great extremity. The troops under my com-
mand were the most unfit of all their forces to be so
employed, having been ever the worst paid, and my
men being sickly and almost naked. I desired the Parlia-
ment that they would be pleased to supply these wants;
not excusing my self, as some did, who had no will to
stir, though well enough accommodated.

The Parliament's answer was “a positive direction to
march; for that it would admit of no delay.” But, foreseeing
I should have such a return to my desires, and considering
the necessity of the business, I had, upon my own credit,
got so much cloth as cloathed 1500 men, and all were
ready to march when these orders came to me.

The twenty-ninth of *December* we set-forward from
Falkingham in *Lincolnshire*, with 1800 horse, and 500
dragoons, and power to call the regiments of foot in
Lancashire and *Cheshire*, to make-up the body of the
army: Which I found was not a little trouble, when I came
to *Manchester*; for some were thirty, some forty, miles
distant, besides the dissatisfaction of some of their Col-
nel's, who went as their particular safety, or interest, swayed
them.

But, finding more readiness in the inferior Officers,
and common soldiers, I got up in a few days near 3000
foot.

With this army we marched to *Nantwich*, which was
at the point of surrendering. When we came within a days
march, I had intelligence that the Lord *Byron* had drawn-
off his siege, and intended to meet us in the field. I
put my men into the order in which I intended to fight,
and continued my march till we came within three miles
of the town.

There

There was a Pass kept with about 250 men : I sent Colonel *Morgan* with his dragoons, who beat them off, in which his brother was slain. The *Major*, who commanded the other party, with some others, was taken prisoner.

We marched-on till we came within cannon shot of their works, where half of their army was drawn up. And we were informed, that the river which runs through the town, being raised by the melting of the snow, hindered those that lay on the other side of the town from joining with them.

We called a council of war, wherein it was debated, whether we should attempt those in their works, being divided from the rest of the army, or should march into the town and relieve them, and, by the increase of our force, be better able the next day to encounter them.

This last was resolved-on ; and, making way with pioneers through the hedges, we marched to the town ; but after we had gone a little way, word came that the enemy was in the rear. We faced about with two regiments, and my own regiment of horse, commanded by Major *Rokeley*, and relieved those that were engaged, and so the fight began on all sides.

These that fell on our rear, were that part of their army that lay on the other side of the town, who had passed the river. Those who were drawn-up under their works, fell upon our van, which was marching to the town. Thus was the battle divided, there being a quarter of a mile betwixt us, in the division that first engaged. Our foot at the beginning gave a little ground ; but our horse recovered this, by beating the enemy's horse out of the lanes that flanked our foot ; which did so encourage our men, that they regained their ground on the enemy, and made them retreat from hedge to hedge, till at length they were forced to fly to their works.

Their horse retreated in better order, towards *Chester*, without much loss. Our other wing being assisted from the town, (who sallyed-out with seven or eight hundred musketeers,) beat the enemy back into the same works; we presently surrounded them; and they, being in great disorder and confusion, soon yielded themselves

Sir Thomas Fairfax
defeats the Royalists
under Lord Byron
near Nantwich.
About January 26th,
1643-44.

prisoners to us, with all their chief Officers, Arms, Colours, and Ammunition.

Thus, by the mercy of God, was this victory obtained, being the more signal, in that we were not to deal with young Soldiers, but with men of great experience, and an army which had ever been victorious.

After this we took-in several garrisons in Cheshire ; Latham only in Lancashire held-out, which was besieged by the forces of that County; but afterward the siege was raised by Prince Rupert.

Having spent three or four months in this expedition, my Father commanded me back into Yorkshire ; that, by the conjunction of our forces, he might be abler to take the field. We met about Ferry-bridge, he being come out of Hull thither, with intent to fall upon the enemy's garrison at Selby.

I received at this time another command from the Parliament to march immediately with my horse and dragoons into Northumberland, to join with the Scot's army.

The Earl of Newcastle, who was then at Durham, was much stronger in horse than they ; for want of which they could not advance. But, it being resolved within a day or two to storm Selby, I stayed till that business was over ; which proved as effectual for the relief of the Scot's army.

The Governour of York, Coll. Bellasis, lay in Selby with 2000 men. We drew our horse and foot close to the town. Sir John Meldrum led-on the foot, which had their several posts appointed them, where they should storm : I with the horse being ready to second them. The enemy within defended themselves stoutly a good while.

Our men at length beat them from the line, but could not advance further because of the horse within. I got a barricado open, which let us in betwixt the houses and the river. Here we had an encounter with their horse : after one charge, they fled over a bridge of boats to York ; their horse came up, and charged us again, where my horse was overthrown ; I being single a little before my men, who presently relieved me, and forced the enemy back. They retreated also to York. In this charge we took Colonel Bellasis, Governour of York. By this time the foot

Sir Thomas Fairfax
is ordered to march
into Northumber-
land to join the Scots
army.

In conjunction with
Sir John Meldrum,
he takes the town of
Selby by storm.
April 10, 1644.

foot had entered the town, and had taken many prisoners. This good success of ours put them into great distraction and fear at *York*; so that they speedily sent to the Earl of *Newcastle* to haste back thither, believing we would presently attempt them.

This news suddenly called him back, leaving the *Scots*, who with cold, and often alarms, were reduced to great extremity. But now they advance after him.

The Earl of *Newcastle* gets into *York*; the *Scots* join with my father at *Wetherby*; and all together they made 16,000 foot, and 4,000 horse. They march on to *York*.

For the siege of *York* it was thought necessary to have more men, the town being large in compass, and strongly manned. The Earl of *Craford*, *Lindsey*, and my *Self*, were sent to the Earl of *Manchester*, to desire him to join with us in the siege; to which he willingly consented, bringing an addition of 6,000 foot, and 3,000 horse.

Now the Army had three Generals, *Lesly*, *Manchester*, June 3, 1644. and *Fairfax*, who lay apart in three several quarters before the town: but the north side still remained open.

Some time was spent here without any considerable action, till, in my Lord of *Manchester*'s quarters, approaches were made to *St. Mary's* tower, and they soon came to mine it. Colonel *Crayford*, a Scotchman, who commanded that quarter, sprung the mine*, (being ambitious to have the honour alone of it,) without acquainting the other two Generals, for their advice and concurrence; which proved very prejudicial: for having engaged his party against the whole strength of the town, without more forces to second him, he was repulsed with the loss of three hundred men; for which he had surely been called to an account, but escaped the better by reason of this triumviral government.

Soon after Prince *Rupert* came to relieve the town. We raised the siege. *Hessey Moore* was appointed the rendezvous. The whole Army drew thither. About a mile from thence lay the Prince, the river *Ouse* being betwixt us, which he that night passed over at *Popleton*. The next day he drew his army into the same *Moore*, which, being now joined with my Lord of *Newcastle*'s army, made about 23 or 24,000 men; we something more.

The Parliament-army lays siege to *York*.

* June 16, 1644.

Prince *Rupert* advances with an army of Royalists to relieve the town;

and joins the army of the Earl of *Newcastle*.

We were divided in our opinions what to do. The *English* were for *fighting*; the *Scots* for *retreating*, to gain (as they alledged) both time and place of more advantage.

This being resolved-on, we marched-away to *Tadcaster*, which made the enemy advance the faster.

Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, *Lesley*, and my *Self* were appointed to bring-up the rear. We sent word to the Generals of the necessity of making a stand, or else the enemy, having this advantage, might put us in some disorder. But by the advantage of the ground we were on, we hoped to make it good till they came-back to us, which they did.

The place was *Marston fields*, which afterwards gave the name to this battle.

Here we drew-up our army. The enemy was drawn-up in battalia on the moor a little below us.

The day being most part spent in preparations, we now began to descend towards them. Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* commanded the left wing of the horse, and was seconded by Major-General *Lesley*; I had the right wing, with some *Scots* horse, and lances for my reserves. The three Generals were with the foot.

Our left wing first charged the enemy's right wing : which was performed for a while with much resolution on both sides ; but the enemy at length was put to the worst.

Our right wing had not all so good success, by reason of the furzes and ditches we were to pass-over before we could get to the enemy : which put us into great disorder.

Notwithstanding I drew-up a body of 400 horse. But, because their intervals of horse, in this wing only, were lined with musketeers, who did us much hurt with their shot, I was necessitated to charge them. We were a long time engaged one within another; but at last we routed that part of their wing which we charged, and pursued them a good way towards *York*. Myself only returned presently, to get to the men I left behind me. But that part of the enemy which stood, perceiving the disorder they were in, had charged and routed them before I could get

A great battle at
Marston-Moor.
July 2, 1644.

get to them: so that the good success we had at the first was eclipsed by this bad conclusion.

Our other wing and most of the foot went on prosperously, till they had cleared the field.

I must ever remember with thankfulness the goodness of God to me this day. For having charged through the enemy, and my men going after the pursuit, and myself returning back to go to my other troops, I was got-in among the enemy, who stood, up and down the field, in several bodies of horse. So, taking the signal out of my hat, I past through them for one of their own commanders, and got to my Lord of *Manchester's* horse, in the other wing; only with a cut in my cheek, which was given me in the first charge, and a shot which my horse received.

In this charge many of my officers and soldiers were hurt and slain: the Captain of my own troop was shot in the arm, my Cornet had both his hands cut, so as rendered him ever after unserviceable. Captain *Micklethwait*, an honest, stout gentleman, was slain: and there was scarce any officer who was in this charge but received a hurt. Colonel *Lambert*, (who should have seconded me, but could not get-up to me,) charged in another place. Major *Fairfax*, who was Major to his regiment, had at least *thirty* wounds, of which he died at *York*, after he had been abroad again, and in good hopes of recovery.

But that which nearest of all concerned me, was the loss of my brother*, who (being deserted of his men,) was sorely wounded, of which, in three or four days after, he died. He was buried at *Marston*. *Æstat. 23.*

In this charge as many were hurt and killed as in the whole Army besides.

On the enemy's part there were above 4,000 slain, and many taken prisoners.

Prince *Rupert* returned into the south, the Earl of *Newcastle* went beyond sea, with many of his officers. *York* was presently surrendered, and the North now was wholly reduced by the Parliament's forces, except some garrisons.

Soon after this I went to *Helmesley*, to take-in the castle there, where I received a dangerous shot in my shoulder,

* Charles Fairfax.

The Royalists are defeated with great loss.

The city of York surrenders to the Parliament's Army.
July 16, 1644.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, shoulder, and was brought back to York, all being doubtful of my recovery for some time.
laying siege to
Helmsley Castle, is
dangerously wound-
ed in the shoulder.

At the same time the Parliament voted me to command the Army in the South.

But my intentions being only to keep in mind what I had been present in during this Northern War, I shall put an end to this discourse, where it pleased God to determine my service there.

Yet thus, with some smart from his rod, to let me see I was not mindful enough of returning my humble thanks and acknowledgments for the deliverances and mercies I received; for which, alas! I am not yet capable enough to praise him as I ought, that may say by experience, *Who is a God like unto our God.*

Therefore *not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give we the praise.*

But as for my-self, and what I have done, I may say with Solomon, *I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do, and behold! all was vanity and vexation of spirit.*

For there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever, seeing that which now is, in the days to come shall be forgotten.

T. FAIRFAX.

SHORT

SHORT
MEMORIALS
OF

Some Things to be cleared during my Command in the Army.

BY the grace and assistance of God, I shall truly set-down the grounds of my actions during this *unhappy War*, and especially of those actions which seemed to the world most questionable.

My first engaging in the sad calamities of the War, was about the year 1641, when the general distemper of the three kingdoms, I mean the difference betwixt the King and Parliament, had kindled such a flame, even in the heart of the State, that, before a remedy could be found, the whole body was almost consumed to ashes.

I must needs say, my judgement was for the Parliament, as the King and Kingdom's great and safest Council: as others were averse to Parliaments, because they did not go high enough for Prerogative.

Upon this division, different powers were set-up: the *Commission of Array* for the King, and the *Militia* for the Parliament. But those of the Array exceeded their Commission in oppressing many honest people, whom, by way of reproach, they called *Round-heads*, who, for their Religion, Estates, and Interest, were a very considerable part of the country; which occasioned them to take-up arms in their own defence, and it was afterward confirmed by authority of Parliament.

My father, being yet at his house at *Denton*, where I then waited on him, had notice from his friends, that it was intended he should be sent-for as a prisoner to

to York : he resolved not to stir from his own house, not being conscious to himself of any thing to deserve imprisonment.

The country suffering daily more and more, many came and intreated him to join with them in defence of themselves and country, which was extremely oppressed by those of the Array (who after had the name of *Cavaliers*) and he (being also much importuned by those about him,) seeing his neighbours in this distress, resolved to run the same hazard with them.

Then did the Parliament grant a commission to him to be General of the Forces in the North ; myself also having a commission under him to be General of the Horse.

It is not my intention in this place to relate the services done in this cause of the Parliament. For I am rather desirous to clear my actions, than to declare them ; and therefore I shall say no more of this three years war in the North, there being nothing (I thank God) in all that time to be objected against me in particular : but I shall say something how I came to be engaged in the South.

Some years had been spent in those parts, in a lingering war betwixt the King and Parliament, and several battles so equally fought, that it could scarce be known on which side the business in dispute would be determined. Though it must be confess that the Parliament's Army was under the command of a very noble and gallant person, the Earl of Essex, yet they found that time and delay gained more advantage against them and their affairs, than force had done. They therefore resolved to make a change in the constitution of their armies, hoping by it to find a change also in their business, which was then something in a declining condition. In this distemper of things, the Army was new-modelled, and a new General proposed to command it : and by votes of the two Houses of Parliament I was nominated, though most unfit ; and was so far from desiring it, that, had not so great an authority (which was then unseparated from the Royal Interest) commanded my obedience ; and had I not been urged by the persuasion of my nearest friends, I should have refused so great a charge. But, whether it was from

a natural

a natural facility in me, that betrayed my modesty, or from the powerful hand of God, which all things must obey, I was induced to receive the command.

Then was I immediately voted by the Parliament to come to *London*, and take my charge, though not fully recovered of a dangerous wound which I had received a little before at *Helmestey*, and which I believe, without the miraculous hand of God, would have proved mortal.

But here, (alas!) when I bring to mind the sad consequences that crafty and designing men have brought to pass since those first innocent undertakings, I am ready to let go that confidence I once had with God, when I could say with Job, *Till I die I will not remove my integrity from me nor shall my heart reproach me so long as I live:* but I am now more fit to take-up his complaint, and say, *Why did I not die? why did I not give-up the ghost when my life was on the confines of the grave?*

God having been pleased thus to give me my life for a prey, I took my journey southward, hoping it might be some ways serviceable to the publick. But, when I came thither, had it not been in the simplicity of my heart, I could not have supported myself under the frowns and displeasures of those who were disgusted with these alterations, in which many of them were much concerned: and therefore they sought by all means to obstruct my proceedings in this new charge; though they could not prevent what the necessity of affairs prest most to do, which was to march speedily out with the Army; yet were we by them made so inconsiderable, for want of fit and necessary accommodations, that it rather seemed that we were sent to be destroyed, than to do any service to the kingdom.

Surely, then, if we had had no other end but self-interest, this might have discouraged us: but it wrought no such effect on me, but rather gave the more hopes of future success, as happened to the Parliament's great advantage. But, if any ill use hath been made of such mercies, let the mercies be acknowledged from God, but the abusers of them receive their due reward of shame and punishment.

Being thus led-on by good success, and clear intention
of

of publick good, some of us could not discern the serpent which was hid under the leaves of so good fortune, nor believe that the fruits of our hopes would prove as cockatrice-eggs, from whence so mischievous a brood should afterwards spring.

But how ill-deserving soever we were, it pleased God still to give the Army such success in the years of 1645 and 1646, that there remained in *England* neither army nor fortress to oppose the Parliament in settling the peace of the kingdom.

This mercy was soon clouded with abominable hypocrisy and deceit, even in those men who had been instrumental in bringing this war to a conclusion.

Here was the vertical point on which the Army's honour and reputation turned into reproach and scandal. Here the power of the Army I once had, was usurped by the Agitators, the forerunners of confusion and anarchy.

My commission as General obliged me to act with council; but the arbitrary and unlimited power of this council would act without a General: and all I could do was ineffectual to oppose them; especially when the Parliament itself became divided.

At this time the pay was withheld from the Army; which increased their distempers. Then followed free-quarter; and that wrought a general discontent through the whole nation; which gave these factious Agitators occasion to carry-on their design of raising their own fortunes upon the publick ruin.

I was much troubled to see things in this condition, and rather desired to be a sufferer than a commander. But, before I laid-down my commission, I thought fit to consult some friends, rather than gratify my private reason and desires: especially having received it from a publick authority; which might justly expect to have notice before I laid it down.

This was the cause of my continuing in the Army longer than I would have done: which did indeed preserve the Parliament for some time from those violences that it afterwards suffered from these disturbers.

I shall now descend to some particulars of their agitations.

The

The first time I took notice of them, was at *Nottingham*, by the soldiers meeting to frame a Petition to the Parliament about their arrears. The thing seemed just; but, not liking the way, I spake with some officers, who were principally engaged in it, and got it suppressed for that time. But this was only as the cutting off a Hydra's head; for they began again, not so near the head-quarters, but in more remote corners of the Army; so that, before I could prevent it, they presented it to the Parliament; at which they were highly displeased.

They now fell into differences, the consequence of which did not only prove fatal to the King, but destructive to themselves: the one striving to uphold their authority; the other, who had a spirit of un settlement, to preserve themselves from the ruin they feared.

This, with a natural inclination to change, I believe, created thoughts of a new government, which in time attained the name of a Commonwealth, but never arrived to the perfection of it, being sometimes democratical, then oligarchical, lastly anarchical: and indeed all the ways of attaining to it, seemed nothing but confusion. For now the officers of the Army were placed and displaced at the will of the new Agitators: and violence so prevailed, that it was above my power to restrain it. This made me have recourse to my friends, to get me a discharge from my command. And several Members of Parliament met and consulted about it: but none would undertake to move it to the House, as affairs then stood; believing such a motion would be unpleasing to them.

This was the answer I received from them, and that I should satisfy myself; for it would be the Parliament's care to compose all things for the good and settlement of the kingdom.

These hopes did a little support my spirit, but could not balance the grief and trouble I had, that I could not get my discharge: so that, if you find me carried-on with this stream, I can truly say, it was by the violence of it, rather than my own consent.

The Army got this power and strength by correspondence with some in Parliament, who found it afterwards to their own trouble. The Army marched nearer

London;

London; and at *Windsor*, after two days debate in a Council of War, it was resolved to remove all out of the House, whom they conceived to be guilty of obstructing (as they called it) the publick settlement.

I was prest to use all expedition in this march; but here I resolved to use a restrictive power, where I had not a persuasive: and when the Lieutenant-General, and others, did urge me to sign orders for marching, I still delayed it, as ever dreading the consequences of breaking Parliaments, and at a time when the kingdom was falling into a new war, which was so near, that my delaying three or four days the giving-out orders, diverted this humour of the Army, from being Statesmen, to their more proper duty as Soldiers.

Then did Colonel *Poyer* declare in *Wales*; great forces did rise with my Lord *Goring* in *Kent*; and Duke *Hamilton* came into *England*, almost at the same time, with a powerful army of *Scots*; all which set-out work enough for that summer.

This I write to shew how, by Providence, a few days of delay secured the Parliament above a year from the violence which soon after was offered them.

In Kent, &c.

I might here mention those great and difficult actions the Army performed that year, which were designed for the good of the kingdom. But that factious party growing more insolent, as success made them more powerful, I shall forbear to relate them; though otherwise they would have deserved a better remembrance than, in modesty, it were fit for me to give.

I shall rather punish myself with the continuance of this story of the irregularities of the Army. But I must not forget one thing of very great concernment in the after-changes, which should have been inserted before the mentioning of this second war; namely, the King's removal from *Holmby*; the sad consequences whereof fill my heart with grief in the remembrance of them, as they did then with care how to prevent them.

Being at *Saffron Walden*, in *Essex*, I had notice that Cornet *Joyce*, an Arch-Agitator, who, quartered about *Oxford*, had seized on the King's person, removed his guards, and given such a check to the Commissioners of Parliament,

Of the removal of the
King from Holmby
by Cornet Joyce, at
the head of a body of
horse, June 4, 1647.

Parliament, who were ordered there to attend his Majesty, that they refused to act any further on their Commission, being so unwarrantably interrupted.

So soon as I heard of it, I immediately sent-away two regiments of horse, commanded by Colonel *Whaley*, to remove this force, and to set all things again in their due course and order. But, before he came to *Holmby*, the King was advanced two or three miles on his way to *Cambridge*, attended by *Joyce*, where Colonel *Whaley* acquainted the King, he was sent by the General to let him know how much he was troubled at those great insolencies that had been committed so near his person; and, as he had not the least knowledge of them before they were done, so he had omitted no time in seeking to remove that force, which he had orders from me to see done: and therefore he desired his Majesty that he would be pleased to return again to *Holmby*, where all things should be settled again in as much order and quietness as they were before. And also he desired the Commissioners to re-assume their charge, as the Parliament had directed them, which he was also to desire them to do from the General. But the King refused to return, and the Commissioners to act; whereupon Colonel *Whaley* urged them to it, saying, “He had an express command to “see all things well settled again about his Majesty, “which could not be done but by his returning again to “*Holmby*.”

The King said positively “he would not do it;” so the Colonel prest him no more to it, having indeed had a special direction from me to use all tenderness and respect, as was due to his Majesty.

The King came that night, or the next, to Sir *John Cutts's* house, near *Cambridge*; and the next day I waited on his Majesty, it being also my business to persuade his return to *Holmby*. But he was otherwise resolved.

I prest the Commissioners also to act according to the power given them by the Parliament, which they also refused to do: so having spent the whole day about this business, I returned to my quarters; and, as I took leave of the King, he said to me, *Sir, I have as good interest in the*

the Army as you; by which I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned-on.

The Agitators could change into that colour which served next to their ends; and had brought the King into an opinion that the Army was for him.

That it might appear what a real trouble this act was to me, though the Army was almost wholly infected with this humour of Agitation, I called for a Council of War, to proceed against Joyce for this high offence, and breach of the Articles of War; but the officers, whether for fear of the distempered soldiers, or rather (as I suspected) a secret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours in this ineffectual. And now, no punishment being able to reach them, all affairs were steered after this compass: the King and his party in *hopes*; those of the Parliament, and others, who kept to their Covenant-interest, in *fears*; so as for many months all publick councils were turned into private Juntoes, which begot greater emulations and jealousies among them. So that the Army would not trust the King any longer with the liberty he had, nor the Parliament suffer the Army to undertake that which was more properly their own work, to settle the kingdom in its just rights and liberties; and the Army was as jealous that the Parliament would not have care enough of their security.

All things growing worse and worse, made the King endeavour to escape: which he did; but out of a larger confinement at *Hampton-Court*, to a straiter one in the *Isle of Wight*.

Here the Parliament treated upon Propositions of Peace with the King; but, alas! the envious one sowed tares that could not be rooted-out, but by plucking-up the corn also.

The King was the golden ball cast before the two parties, the Parliament and the Army; and the contest grew so great, that it must again have involved the nation in blood. But the Army, having the greater power, got the King again into their hands, notwithstanding all endeavours to hinder it.

The treaty was scarce ended before the King was seized on

on by the hands of the same persons that took him from *Holmby*; soon after followed his trial.

To prepare a way to this work this Agitating Council did first intend to remove all out of the Parliament who were like to oppose them, and carried it on with such secrecy, as I had not the least intimation of it till it was done, as some of the Members of the House can witness, with whom I was at that very time upon special business, when that attempt was made by Colonel *Pride* upon the Parliament, which I protest I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reason why it was so secretly carried, that I should have no notice of it, was, because I always prevented those designs when I knew them.

By this *purgung* of the House (as they called it) the Parliament was brought into such a consumptive and languishing condition, that it could never again recover that healthful constitution, which always kept the kingdom in its strength, life, and vigour.

This way being made by the sword, the *Trial of the King* was easier for them to accomplish.

My afflicted and troubled mind for it, and my earnest endeavours to prevent it, will, I hope sufficiently testify my dislike and abhorrence of the Fact. And what will they not do to the shrubs, having cut-down the Cedar?

After this, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Capel*, and others, were condemned to death.

It is fit for me in this place to say something for my own vindication about my Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liste*; who were prisoners *at mercy* upon the rendering *Colchester*: seeing some have questioned the just performance of those articles.

I laid siege to the town, and made several assaults: but, finding their forces within much more numerous than those I had without, I was forced to take another course in blocking them up, and, by cutting off all supplies, to bring them to a surrender; which, after four months close siege, they were compelled to, and that *upon mercy*, being in number three or four thousand men; and "delivering *upon mercy*, is to be understood that some are to suffer, and the rest to go free."

Immediately after our entrance into the town, a Council

A Short Memorial of

of War was called, and those forenamed persons were sentenced to die, the rest to be acquitted.

This being so resolved, I thought fit notwithstanding to transmit the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Norwich*, &c. over to the Parliament, being the civil judicature of the kingdom, consisting then both of Lords and Commons, and so most proper judges in their case, who were considerable for Estates and Families: but Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, being mere soldiers of fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, were executed; and in this I did nothing but according to my Commission, and the Trust reposed in me.

But, it may be objected, that I went into the Court during the trial: to which I answer, that it was at the earnest request of my Lord *Capel's* friends, who desired me to explain there "what was meant by surrendering to Mercy:" otherwise I had not gone there, being always unsatisfied with those courts.

For this I need say no more, seeing I may as well be questioned for the articles of *Bristol*, *Oxford*, *Exeter*, or any other action in the war, as this.

I have now related the most remarkable things that might be alledged against me, during the prosecution of the war.

One thing more requires I should say something to it, before I conclude; that is, concerning *Papers* and *Declarations* of the *Army* that came-out in my name, and that of the Council of Officers.

I say, that, from the time they declared their usurped authority at *Triplow Heath*, I never gave my free consent to anything they did: but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name in way of course to all their papers, whether I consented or not: and to such failings are all authorities subject. Under the Parliament's Authority many injuries have been done; so here hath a General's power been broken and crumbled into a levelling faction.

Yet even this I hope all impartial judges will interpret as force and ravishment of a good name, rather than a voluntary consent, which might make me equally criminal with that faction. And if in a multitude of words, much more in a multitude of actions, there must be some transgressions;

gressions ; yet I can truly say, they were never designedly, or willfully, committed by me.

All the power being got into the Army, they cut-up the root of kingly government ; after this were engagements made to abolish that title. Then was war declared against *Scotland* for assisting the King, and several leagues made with foreign Princes, to confederate with their new Government (which was now *a Commonwealth*), against the Kingly Power.

All this I saw with grief and sorrow, and, though I possessed the love of the Army as much as ever, and was with great importunity sollicited by that remaining Parliament and the Soldiers to continue my command ; and, though I might, so long as I acted their designs, have attained to what height of power, and other advantages, I pleased ; yet, by the mercies and goodness of God, I did, so long as I continued in the Army, oppose all those ways in their Councils ; and, when I could do no more, I then declined their actions : though I did not resign my Commission, which I had from the Parliament, till the remaining part of it took it from me.

Thus have I given you the sum of the most considerable things, for which the world may censure me, during this unhappy war ; and I hope that, in all my weakness and failings, there shall not be found any crimes of such magnitude as to make me be numbered with those who have done these things through Ambition and Dissimulation.

FINIS.

THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX,

HIS

EPI T A P H ,

MADE BY

G E O R G E V I L L I E R S ,

THE SECOND DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

Who married Mary, the only Child of the said renowned Commander.

UNDER this Stone doth lie
One born for Victory,
Fairfax the valiant, and the only He,
Who e're, for that alone, a Conqueror would be.

Both sexes' virtues were in him combin'd ;
He had the fierceness of the Manliest mind,
And all the meekness too of Womankind.

He never knew what Envy was, nor Hate ;
His soul was fill'd with Worth, and Honesty,
And with another thing besides, quite out of date,
Call'd Modesty.

He ne'er seem'd Impudent, but in the Field ;—a place
Where Impudence itself dares seldom shew its face.

Had any stranger spy'd him in a room,
With some of those whom he had overcome,
And had not heard their talk, but only seen
Their gesture, and their mien,
They would have sworn he had the vanquisht been :
For as they bragg'd, and dreadful would appear.
Whilst they their own ill-luck repeated,
His modesty still made him blush to hear
How often he had them defeated.

Through his whole life the part he bore
Was Wonderful and Great.
And yet it so appear'd in nothing more
Than in his private, last retreat :
For 'tis a stranger thing to find
One man of such a glorious mind

As can despise the power he has got,
Than millions of the Polls and Braves,
Those de picable fools and knaves,
Who such a pudder make,
Through dulness and mistake,
In seeking after power, and get it not.

When all the Nation he had won,
And, with expence of blood, had bought
Store great enough, he thought,
Of Fame, and of Renown,
He then his arms laid-down,
With full as little pride,
As if he'd been o'th' conquer'd side,
Or one of them could do that were undone.

He neither Wealth nor Places sought ;
For others, not himself, he fought.

He was content to know,
(For he had found it so ;)
That, when he pleas'd to conquer, he was able ;
And left the spoil and plunder to the rabble.

He might have been a King,
But that he understood,
How much it is a meaner thing
To be unjustly Great, than honourably Good.

This from the World did Admirâtion draw,
And from his Friends both Love and Awe,
Rememb'ring what he did in fight before.

Nay, his foes lov'd him too,
As they were bound to do,
Because he was resolv'd to fight no more.

So, blest of all, he died : but far more blest were we,
If we were sure to live till we could see,
A man as great in war, as just in peace, as He.

